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MARGARET OF ANJOU.

RENÉ "THE GOOD,"

KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM, DUKE OF ANJOU AND LORRAIN AND COUNT OF PROVENCE.

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

MARGARET OF ANJOU,

QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

By MARY ANN HOOKHAM.

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VOL. I.

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LONDON:
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.
1872.

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MARGARET OF ANJOU,

QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE;

AND OF HER FATHER

RENÉ "THE GOOD,

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WITH

MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSES OF ANJOU.

BY

MARY ANN HOOKHAM.

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE READER.

It is not my intention to write a preface to the accompanying work, since I have long felt assured that I may trust to its own intrinsic interest to commend it to the historic reader. The romance of real life, so remarkably depicted in the vicissitudes of Queen Margaret's career, and that of her Father, cannot fail to arouse the feeling heart, and to awaken genuine sentiment: add to this, the broad light diffused over the arts and literature of those times, by King René "the Good."

My sole object, therefore, in this page is to render a just tribute to those who have kindly aided me in a task, which, from the obscure period of which it treats, has been found greater than at the commencement was anticipated. More especially do I seek this opportunity to acknowledge, the valuable assistance rendered me, through the courteous correspondence of that learned historian, the late M. de Barante; as well as that of M. Grille, Librarian of the University of

Angers, to whom I have been greatly indebted for facts of local interest. To many kind friends and relatives, who have ably assisted me in my undertaking, and foremost amongst them to Mrs. Matthew Hall, I desire also through this medium to express my very sincere thanks.

MARY ANN HOOKHAM.

4, Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square,
February 20th, 1872.

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MARY, m. Robert Duke of Bar.

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1360. LOUIS I., Duke of Anjou, m. Marie, dau. of Charles de Blois.

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INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

PART I.

OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF ANJOU.

After the conquests of Charlemagne the Emperor, the great kingdom of France was divided into numerous fiefs, or petty sovereignties.

These were again, after the intervention of that long period called the feudal times, re-united under the French crown. Of these provinces, Anjou was one which took a conspicuous part in the politics of Europe. During 600 years the Angevine rulers were of three separate families or "Houses," originating in, and acknowledging allegiance to, the crown of France.

Some difficulty has been found by writers in marking distinctly the origin and fall of the First House of Anjou; but the dynasty of the "Third House," from which René of Anjou and his daughter Margaret sprung by direct lineal descent, is traced with sufficient perspicuity in all the annals.

FIRST AND SECOND HOUSES OF ANJOU.

In the year 768, Charlemagne bestowed his sister Bertha in marriage on Milon, Count of Maine, giving, as her dower, the territory of Anjou, and conferred upon Milon the title of Count of Angers. From this 768.

marriage proceeded four illustrious warriors, Roland, Thierri, Geoffrey, and Baldwin. After a rule of ten years, Milon was killed in battle against the Saracens in Spain.

778. His eldest son, Roland, succeeded him in 778. That Roland whose praises have been sung by Ariosto—that famous Roland, who is reported, in one of his hand-to-hand encounters, to have cloven through man, saddle, and horse with one fell blow! But Anjou can hardly be said to have felt his governing hand, since he was killed at Roncevaux, in the very year of his accession.

778. The title and possessions then devolved upon his brother Thierri, who was destined, during a long reign, to bear the brunt of a cruel warfare, often simultaneously carried on by two fierce enemies, and to witness continual scenes of devastation and carnage overspreading that fine portion of France entrusted to his charge.

The imperial power of Charlemagne was too mighty for the grasp of his son, and, under the mental and moral incapacity of his grandson, it dwindled and narrowly escaped extinction. Louis "le Débonnaire," the son and successor of Charlemagne, had not been

818. four years upon the throne of France, ere the Bretons rose in open rebellion against him.

819. The King repaired to Angers, and, joined by his cousin Thierri and the Angevine nobility, marched into Brittany, and speedily reduced that refractory province.

824. Five years after, a second rising of the Bretons, under their Duke Nomenoé, is stated to have been suppressed

836. by Louis with equal facility. But, as early as 836, according to some chroniclers, a new enemy appeared upon the soil of France, in the persons of the famous brigand, Hasting, and the Danes, who overran and eventually colonised Normandy; and were, therefore,

often called Normans in those times. No one ever did so much injury to the Angevines as this lawless chief with his pirate hordes.

In 838, the Danes made a descent upon France by the Loire, under the conduct of Hasting. It was not, however, until after the commencement of the disastrous reign of Charles "le Chauve," son of Louis "le Débonnaire," that the Normans on the one hand, and the Bretons on the other, succeeded to any remarkable extent in ravaging Anjou, and dismembering France. In the earliest years of that reign the restless Bretons again took up arms against the new yoke, making their Duke Nomenoé, King of Brittany; and, mindful of the recent loyalty of their neighbours, invaded Anjou, ravaged the banks of the Loire, and destroyed the abbey of St. Florent. They even approached the city of Angers, but, on learning that Thierri was prepared to fight, they hastily withdrew into their own country. 838.

It was about this time, 843—5, that the Danes found their way to Nantes; and, after making a great massacre of the people in one of its churches, established themselves temporarily on a neighbouring island of the Loire. Thence they continued to devastate the province of Brittany, for a length of time, conquering the Bretons in three consecutive battles, till Nomenoé, compelled to sue for peace, loaded them with presents, to induce them to quit his territory. 843-5.

Thierri, meantime, weakened by his great age and the harass of frequent wars, ceased to be formidable to these enemies. The French king therefore resolved, for the better defence of the whole county of Anjou, to divide it for the present into two parts independent of each other.

He permitted Thierri to remain in possession of the city of Angers, and all the territory between the left

bank of the Loire and the Maine, and the right bank of the Layon, and called from that time "Deça-Maine." All the rest of the country, thenceforth named "Outre-Maine," he bestowed on a young captain, supposed of Saxon origin, named Rostulf or Robert, who was already distinguished for his bravery and military tactics. This chief with his companions in arms shortly arrived in Anjou, and established himself at Seronne on the Sarthe (now Châteauneuf), which he made the capital of his territory.

After making peace with Nomenoé, the Normans advanced up the Loire, entered the Maine, and attacked
845-7. the city of Angers. Thierri sustained the first onset of Hasting, and even repulsed the enemy out of the city; but the Normans, after making a feint of retiring, returned in a few days and took the city by assault. They massacred nearly all the inhabitants, pillaged and set fire to the city, and finally burnt alive the unfortunate Count Thierri, a venerable old man of more than eighty years of age.

From this period the frontier provinces were for a long time continually the scene of devastation and
849. carnage. The King of Brittany, Nomenoé, bent on conquest, a second time invaded Anjou, and gained the capital without striking a blow. He ravaged both Anjou and Maine for several years, until a violent malady ended his life.

851. His son Erispoé, who succeeded him, obtained a signal victory over the French king, Charles "le Chauve," who was obliged to confirm to him the possessions of Thierri, viz., Angers and Upper Anjou; that portion of Anjou became, in fact, at that period an integral part of the kingdom of Brittany. Indeed, such was the deplorable state of the country, that, in order to obtain peace King Charles conceded all that was required of him, sanctioning the marriage of his son Louis "le

Begue" with the daughter of Erispoé, and confirming the latter in the attributes of royalty. Erispoé, however, was slain in 857, upon the very altar in a sanctuary to which he had fled, by his cousin Salomon, who then declared himself King of Brittany in his stead. 857

Robert, meanwhile, whose strength and valour had won him the surname of "le Fort," was respected in his territory, and was able successfully to repulse both Bretons and Normans. He remained always faithful to his benefactor Charles, who in return, in 861 entrusted him with the title and authority of Count of Angers and Upper Anjou, to preserve during the minority of his son Louis, the heir naturally of Erispoé. But the French nobility, discontented with the unfortunate government of their monarch, viewed with a jealous eye the favour shown to Robert. They intrigued with Louis, King of Germany, to depose his brother Charles "le Chauve," and at length took up arms with him at their head, and made their rendezvous in Brittany. Upon this, Robert collected troops and took defensive measures against the approach of the rebels. Louis invaded Anjou with a large army in 862, and immediately encountered that of Robert, but the latter succeeded, with inferior numbers, in driving back the enemy into Brittany, killing more than 2,000 of them, and recovering the whole of the booty which they had plundered during the incursion. 861. 862.

The fugitives rallied indeed, and afterwards reentered Anjou, but when Robert marched promptly upon Louis and gave him battle a second time, the result was the complete victory of the Angevines, and total rout of the Breton and other forces. Finally, both Louis and Salomon, the Kings of Germany and Brittany, took the oath of fidelity to Charles "le Chauve."

In the same year Salomon enlisted on his side the formidable alliance of the Normans in Brittany; but

the prudence of Robert dictated to him to buy off the latter at the cost of 6,000 silver livres. Thus, at length, disembarrassed of the pretensions of Salomon in Anjou, the French king confirmed the rank and government of Angers and Upper Anjou to Robert "le Fort" who, in
863. 863, obtained another complete victory over the Normans, entrenched in islands on the Loire, in which he was severely wounded.

865. Robert attained the climax of his successes in 865, over the Normans, on their return from Poitiers to the Loire after pillaging that city. Taking them by surprise, he killed 500 of them, without losing a single man. In acknowledgment of this especial feat the king created him Marquis of Angers, and gave him the counties of Auxerre and Nivernois. In the following
866. year he was further promoted to a dukedom of France, with charge of the whole country between the Loire and the Seine. He was not, however, successful against his old foes in this new scene of his operations. The Normans, ascending the Seine as far as Melun, there fell upon a force much superior to their own in strength and commanded by Robert himself, over which
867. they obtained a speedy and decisive victory. A year or two later Robert returned to Lower Anjou, again to do battle with those insatiable brigands. He encountered, near Châteauneuf, 400 Normans and Bretons, who had despoiled the city of Le Mans. They were led by Hasting himself, who, surprised at this point, retreated within the church of Brissarth with some loss. The church having been speedily fortified, and the night coming on, Robert deferred until the morrow the attack. But, in the night, he was obliged to repel a sally from the besieged, when he was, after prodigies of valour, cut down on the threshold of the church. Ranulph, Duke of Aquitaine, his ally on that occasion, was at the same time mortally wounded by an arrow

from one of the church windows, and died three days after. Their united forces were put to flight, and the whole county fell defenceless under the yoke of the Norman adventurer.

Robert "le Fort," whose just and warlike career thus terminated in battle in defence of his country, was the first ancestor of a long line of French kings, since Hugh Capet, the head of the third dynasty, was his great-grandson, and the little town of Seronne or Châteauneuf was consequently the first possession of that distinguished race in France. The peasantry of the country still cherish his remembrance under the homely title of "General le Fort."

At the time when Hasting thus re-appeared upon the soil of Anjou, the people of its capital, who had been peaceably employed for several years in rebuilding their city, had at length learnt to banish all fear of the return of that ruthless scourge, who twenty years before had sacked and burnt it so unmercifully. When therefore they were apprized of the stratagem of Hasting, so fatal to the brave Robert and his ally, the consternation was general. The victor returned with his spoil to his vessels on the Loire. He occupied the banks of that river during five years, living on the pillage of the country.

It is certain that from 869 to 873 the Normans were in possession of Anjou, but about the year 871 their chief resolved to seize upon some important town and make it his abode. 871.

He gave the preference to Angers, and, quitting the Loire, approached that city. The two sons of Robert "le Fort," Eudes and Robert, were too young at his death to succeed to his rule. The title of Count of Tours and Angers was therefore bestowed on the abbot Hugues; but at his death, a few years after, the trust of the county was confided to Eudes, who was made

Count of Paris and Duke of France. It is, however, more than probable that neither Hugues nor Eudes possessed any but a titular authority over the province of Anjou during that anarchical period. At any rate, on the approach of Hasting, the inhabitants of Angers, despite the strength of their fortifications, fled in terror. The remembrance of his cruelties had so powerful an effect upon them, that neither assurances nor menaces on the part of the authorities could stay the affrighted citizens. They abandoned their city to the mercy of the Normans, who entering, with their leader, established themselves there with their families, and became its new inhabitants.

The French king, aroused into activity by the boldness of this enterprise, at length concerted measures, with the aid of Salomon, King of Brittany, to expel the
872-3. brigand. In the following year Angers was successfully besieged by the French and Bretons in alliance. It was a protracted siege, and only terminated by means of a stratagem of Salomon.

His soldiers dug a wide and deep canal to draw off the waters of the Maine, and thus leave the ships of the Normans on dry ground. The Normans were powerless, or thought themselves so, without their vessels, and, though the canal was never finished, it is confidently asserted that the cause which made the besieged treat urgently for peace was this ingenious undertaking. Hasting found himself compelled to offer a large sum of money for permission to depart the city with his followers. He even promised to quit the French territory for ever, and so completely imposed on the credulity of Charles, that the King raised the siege, and suffered him to transport his vessels into the new bed of the Maine. Thence he reached the Loire once again, when, with a faithlessness natural to a foe of his stamp, he remained, and soon after recommenced

his former system of depredation along its banks with impunity.

The first person into whose hands the real government of Angers and Upper Anjou was confided, after the siege of Angers, was one of the foresters of Anjou, born in the territory of Rennes, in the Armorique, named Torquat. After Robert "le Fort" and the Norman anarchy, Torquat was the first governor of 873. Angers, and was appointed in 873 simply as defender of the Angevine and Breton frontiers.

He had a son of an aspiring mind, named Tertulle, who at first filled the office of ranger, but as that appointment was accompanied by no particular distinction, in order to advance his fortunes he entered the service of the King and distinguished himself in the army.

Tertulle became one of the Leudes, or faithful, of Charles, in the year 875, but at what date he succeeded 875. his father as governor of Angers and Upper Anjou, and guardian of the frontiers on that side, is unknown; it is only certain that between them Torquat and Tertulle administered that part of the country from 873 to 892. In the year 875, when he had distinguished himself and became a Leude of Charles, Tertulle won the hand of Petronilla, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, which King Charles bestowed on him, together with a benefice in the Castle of Laudon, and some lands in Gastinois. Tertulle became Seneschal of Gastinois. The offspring of his union with Petronilla was a son, born in 876, named Ingelger, 876. who at an early age attained an historical reputation, and became the first hereditary sovereign in Anjou, as well as the founder of a long and powerful dynastic sway.

On the death of his father, Ingelger was only in his sixteenth year, too young to be invested with the 892.

important command which Tertulle had exercised, and yet full of promise of a brilliant career. He had been educated under the eye of his father; and endowed with natural genius, a noble physiognomy, and a handsome figure, he had already become remarkable for a skill in horsemanship and in the military exercises, which even compensated for the deficiency of physical strength that years alone could contribute.

It seemed as if already the French King Eudes designed for him the same appointment which his father had held, for though some years elapsed before Ingelger became Governor of Angers, yet history mentions no intermediate possessor of that title, and next after the vacancy created by the death of Tertulle records the name of Ingelger.

893 Meanwhile a romantic occurrence gave rise to his *début*, about a year after his father's death, and contributed in no small degree to his advancement, in that early age of chivalry.

Adèle, Countess of Gastinois, the godmother of Ingelger, had found her husband one morning, dead in his bed by her side. Though respected no less for her modesty than her beauty, the Countess was many years younger than the deceased, and that circumstance, coupled with a greedy ambition on the part of the Count's nearest relative, except herself, named Gontran, made her the subject of an unworthy suspicion. Gontran, in order that she might be disinherited and himself put in possession of the title and estates, published an accusation against her of homicide and adultery. The decision in this matter rested with the crown, but the trial upon which that decision depended was, in those days, one of courage and strength totally irrespective of justice. The French king accordingly came to Château Laudon on a day specified, with his princes and barons, to judge the

affair. The Countess was present in deep mourning. Gontran reminded them simply, that some years before, when the King had wished to marry the late Count, the Seneschal of his palace, to the Countess, she had long rejected the offer with *hauteur*, asserting that the Seneschal was born her vassal, and that she had only yielded on the reiterated instances of the King and of all his court; in short, that she had been inspired with sentiments of hatred and contempt only towards this her second husband, and that those feelings had doubtless caused her to commit the double crime laid to her charge. To *prove* his assertions, he immediately cast his gage into the midst of the assembly! The Countess replied only by sobs and tears, for no one dared to take up the gage of combat, and in that age the innocence of the accused was decided by combat alone. At length she sank fainting on the ground, and seemed ready to expire. Unable any longer to endure the sight of the agony of one who had taken so much care of his infancy after he had lost his mother, and had subsequently inspired him with all the generous sentiments which form the hero, Ingelger threw himself at the feet of the King, and besought his permission to fight for the honour of his benefactress. Surprised, yet pleased, the King at length consented, though with regret. On the morrow the same assemblage re-appeared upon the field of battle; the Countess with her ladies was present in a carriage hung with mourning, and, from the raised corner of the sable drapery, her eyes met those of her champion as the signal was given and he loosed the rein to his horse.

The age, strength, and military reputation of his adversary were all superior. At the first shock the lance of Gontran pierced the buckler of the youth, but there rested entangled, and whilst he vainly endeavoured to

withdraw it, Ingelger passed his through the body of his opponent, and threw him from his horse; then alighting, he despatched him with his dagger. Amidst the acclamations which followed, his godmother, having alighted from her carriage and embraced Ingelger, petitioned the King to allow her to dispose of all her fortune to him to whom she owed her honour. The royal approval was given, and Ingelger rendered homage for all the lands which the Countess of Gastinois thus bestowed upon him. They were the town of Château Laudon and the Gastinois territory.

The King of France, an eye-witness of this brilliant commencement of his noble career, did not lose sight of Ingelger, and some years after gave him the temporary government of the town of Angers, and of that part of the county which has been called Upper Anjou. This, however, was but the first grade in the ladder of Ingelger's ambition. Before the ninth century, the military benefices granted by the King to his Leudes, or faithful, had been transferable; but during that epoch they existed for life, and before its close became hereditary. Thus, about this date, the French King, for the better defence of his territories against the Normans and others, divided them as heirlooms amongst his generals, with the titles of dukes and counts.

The feudal government, which has been aptly termed a system of organised anarchy, was then established in Anjou; and that province was elevated, in the person of Ingelger, apparently before the year 900, into one of those particular sovereignties which all depended on the principal monarchy, by virtue of faith and homage alone.

Ingelger was created hereditary Count of Anjou "Deça Maine," and as his zeal and talents displayed themselves, he soon after became Viscount of Orleans and Prefect of Tours. He then took the command

from Orleans to Andecavi, whilst the Counts of Brittany, Judicael and Alain, completed the chain of defence against the inveterate Normans by undertaking to protect the passage and mouth of the Loire through Brittany. Ingelger's repeated victories over these enemies acquired for him the reputation of one of the first generals of the age, while the wisdom and firmness he exhibited in his administration gained him general esteem. Thus he obtained the notice of two powerful prelates, the Bishops of Tours and Orleans, who gave him their niece, the beautiful Adèle or Aliude, the richest heiress in those countries, in marriage. The Count of Anjou became by this marriage one of the most wealthy and powerful of the nobles of France. The country of Gastinois had for its chief town Château Laudon, and its boundaries were the county of Sens, the territories of Melun and Etampes, the county of Orleans and the Nivernois, including in its compass Courtenai, St. Fargeau, Moret, Puiseaux, and Gien, as well as the territories where the towns of Fontainebleau, Nemours, and Montargis now stand. With all these possessions, Ingelger became the object of jealousy to most of the barons of Gastinois, who had beheld him from being an equal suddenly raised to be their sovereign. At first, indeed, they refused to recognise him; but, either through fear, or out of respect to the King's authority, they all, at length, rendered him their homage.

The last enterprise in the life of Ingelger forms an illustration, almost as happy as his first, of the energy and intrepidity, no less than the love of justice, inherent in his noble character.

It appears that fifteen or twenty years previously, the inhabitants of Tours, in expectation of an incursion of Hasting, removed the body of St. Martin, as their

most precious treasure, to Auxerre. The security of their province having been in the meantime established, the people of Tours now desired the restitution of the body of their saint; but all to no purpose. In vain they petitioned the King on the subject; he replied, that, so long as it remained in France, he cared not what town possessed it.

In this extremity they appealed to their Prefect,
912. Ingelger. He collected six thousand Angevine horsemen, placed himself at their head, and marched straightway upon the town of Auxerre; which, no longer able to resist a demand supported in so substantial a manner, restored the venerable deposit without further parley. This incident is referred to the year 912, the same in which Rollo, having married Gisella, daughter of Charles "le Simple," and embraced Christianity, made peace at last between the Normans
913. and French. In the following year occurred the death of Ingelger, whose body was conveyed to Tours, followed by all the barons and nobles of Anjou, and buried according to his desire in the church of St. Martin.

With this commencement of the feudal system, the people of Anjou, who had hitherto always enjoyed certain rights from the time of the Romans, fell into total slavery, and were parcelled out with the lands on which they dwelt. In that state of political annihilation they remained, with little exception, until the thirteenth century.

Ingelger left one son, named Foulques, and surnamed "le Roux" from the colour of his hair. He succeeded his father in the counties of Anjou and Charolais. Foulques inherited almost all the good qualities of his father; but some historians assert that he tarnished their lustre by his dissolute manners. He was certainly brave and enterprising, and always

returned victorious from his wars with the Normans and Bretons. Foulques became the first hereditary Count of the entire territory of Anjou. In 914 914.
Charles "le Simple" ceded to him Lower, or Outre-Maine Anjou, and from that time the two counties united continued under one head. Foulques "le Roux" married Roscilla, daughter of Garnier, Count of Tours, by whom he had three sons: the eldest Ingelger was killed in battle previous to the year 929, and the second, named Guy, surrendered himself as hostage to the Normans to obtain the liberty of Louis d'Outre-Mer, King of France.

On the death of Foulques "le Roux," his third son 933.
Foulques succeeded him, and the first reign in Anjou commenced in which the material prosperity of the Angevine people had obtained any consideration.

This Count was entitled "le Bon," for the worthy actions of his public life. He was well educated for his time, cultivated music and the belles-lettres, and associated with learned men of all ranks, eager to profit by their talents. His kindness and condescension towards the poor never varied, and his administration was remarkable for mildness and justice. In short, he was a pattern of rulers in his era. He had, besides, the wisdom and good fortune to live on amicable terms with his neighbours. The age of Norman and Breton invasion of Anjou was past. Twenty years of profound peace intervened before the age of Angevine conquests in Brittany and the territory of the Count of Blois.

These twenty years constituted the happy reign of Foulques "the Good," a golden age for Anjou, a period when that province, already the most enlightened in France, attracted strangers from far and near to come and share the benefits of its learning and its prosperity. In that age of feudalism, how much of all this depended upon the individual character of the

Count who presided over the destinies of that portion of France. On his accession, that province presented the spectacle of towns and bourgs abandoned and in ruins, of fields left uncultivated, and of a people of wandering serfs without sustenance and without a home. Touched by so much misery, Foulques bestowed his earliest attention upon agriculture. He granted permission to the labourers to hew in his forests all the wood they required for rebuilding their houses and making their implements of husbandry, and then made them advances of money to procure cattle and seeds. In short, in the course of a few years, through the wisdom, goodness, and energy of their ruler, the inhabitants themselves, as well as their neighbours, were astonished to find the country abounding with flocks and herds, rich crops, orchards, and vines laden with fruit. Foulques "le Bon" married Gerberge, sister of Thibault I., Count of Blois, cementing by that union the peace and happiness of the two provinces, Anjou and Blois, during his time. Foulques II., who was, besides, extremely pious, was carried, according to his desire during his last illness, within the church of St. Martin at Tours, and actually died there, surrounded by the bishop and monks, A.D.
958. 958. He left seven children by Gerberge, the eldest of whom, Geoffrey, succeeded him.

The character of Geoffrey was much contrasted with that of his pious, gentle, and humane father. Geoffrey was surnamed "Grise Gonelle," from commonly wearing a tunic of coarse grey stuff. He was warlike and enterprising. He rendered some signal services
978. to Lothaire, King of France, against Otho II., Emperor of Germany, and assisted in the defeat of the Normans, Danes, and Saxons whom Otho had led upon Paris. The King of France, to testify his satisfaction, made him Grand Seneschal of France, which office he

created expressly for him and his descendants. The life of Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle" was spent mostly in the battle-field. He had incessant contests with William IV., Count of Poitiers; he fought David, Count of Le Mans, and, in compensation for his victory over him, received his estates; he triumphed over the Bretons who had come to pillage Anjou once more; and was besieging one of his vassals in the castle of Marson, near Saumur, when he died of a sudden attack in the year 987. 987.

Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle" had several children by his wife Adèle, of whom two alone survived him, and in turn succeeded to his title and possessions. Of the elder, Maurice, no trace has been left beyond the statement that he ruled one year only in Anjou.

The name of his brother, Foulques "Nerra," who then took the reins, is well known. His good government during a very long reign was of great importance to the province of Anjou, and much resembled that of Foulques "le Bon," despite its warlike character at an early period, and despite the stains with which tradition accuses his private life. But soon after its commencement he experienced a bitter and ambitious enemy in the person of Conan I., King of Brittany, who had married his sister. He had occasion to do battle in person more than once during the year 992 against his brother-in-law, who was as treacherous as Foulques was brave and honest. The last sanguinary battle in that year terminated in the death of Conan, together with a thousand of his Breton followers. 988. 992.

In 994, Foulques laid siege to Tours, then held by Eudes, Count of Blois, and his arms having been there also victorious, a peace of some years ensued, during which he was enabled to give his undivided attention to the administration of Anjou. In his desire to ameliorate the condition of his subjects, and to augment 994.

legitimately the population of the country, he not only built a great number of towns, castles, churches, and monasteries, but placed inhabitants in them, and sought to render them happy by every means in his power. In fact, as the terrible year 1000 passed harmlessly by (when it had been believed that the end of the world was approaching), a surprising change began to operate upon all classes, and in Anjou it especially manifested itself by an era of celebrated architecture, and Foulques became distinguished in history as the *edificateur*. But he was yet more worthy of public renown, for having constantly made concessions to his unhappy people.

1012. About 1012, he granted lands to the poorest amongst them, and established public markets for the sale of their produce, in order that they might maintain themselves. "Nerra" first brought largely into use the slate with which Anjou abounds. We find him again;
1016. however, in 1016 fighting against Eudes of Blois, and
1025. so late as the year 1025, he conquered and annexed the town of Saumur, which has been called the garden of Anjou. The limits of the province of Anjou were, indeed, considerably extended on each side under his rule, until it comprised about the same area as the department of Maine et Loire in the present day. In
1029. 1029, however, Foulques "Nerra" was unsuccessful in a contest against the Count of Maine and Alain III. of
1036. Brittany; and about the year 1036, his son Geoffrey rose in open rebellion against him. He defeated, imprisoned, and finally pardoned his son.

"Nerra" is reported to have burnt alive his first wife on a charge of adultery. It is stated that her shade appeared to him in after years, and that it was in remorse for this and other similar savage acts of his early martial career, that he made three separate pilgrimages for the Pope's benediction and to the Holy

Land. By his second wife, Hildegarde, he had the son Geoffrey who succeeded him. During Foulques "Nerra's" time, Ethelred II. of England, and many banished Saxons, took up their abode in Normandy.

His son and successor, Geoffrey "Martel," became one of the greatest generals of his age, but inherited none of the qualities which had earned the public gratitude for his father. He was engaged in warfare nearly the whole of his life. After serving in several campaigns under Henry I. of France, Geoffrey "Martel" laid siege to Tours, which was then held by Thibault III., Count of Blois. Thibault, having refused to do homage to the King for his possessions, this monarch had confiscated them, and invested Geoffrey "Martel" with them. In this enterprise, which took place on the 21st of August, 1044, Geoffrey was completely successful, against very superior numbers. The Count of Blois was himself taken captive, and as many as 1800 prisoners, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the besiegers. From his personal prowess in this victory the name of "Martel," or hammer, was given to him, in allusion to the fatal blows by which he prostrated his opponents. The French King, however, became the mediator for Thibault, who obtained his liberation by ceding as his ransom the towns and castles of Tours, Chinon, and Langeais. From that date, Tourraine was dismembered from the counties of Blois and Chartres. Before he had attained his twenty-second year, Geoffrey "Martel" had twice conquered in battle William V., Duke of Aquitaine.

1040.

1043.

1044.

They contested La Saintonge; and, for four years, there was constant bloodshed between Saumur and Poitiers. On the occasion of his second defeat the Duke was made captive; and, after a confinement of three years, died in his prison. Geoffrey then married his widow, Agnes of Burgundy, who brought him, as

1044-8.

her dowry, the county of Poitou and many lesser fiefs.
1048. The valiant Geoffrey next attacked Normandy, but could make no permanent acquisition within the territory of William the Conqueror. Though always faithful to his sovereign, Henry I., his great ambition led him to invade frequently the states of his neighbours, and, in one important matter, he did not hesitate to employ fraud as well as force to gratify this culpable ambition. He took advantage of the infancy of Herbert II., Count of Maine, to procure his own nomination as administrator of that province during his minority, but never relinquished the sovereign authority over Maine during his life-time. He had, besides, been unscrupulous enough to sieze by force from his nephew Foulques "l'Oison," the county of Vendôme, which he restored only on the King's intercession, after he had
1050. enjoyed its revenue for twenty years. He made great acquisitions to his dominions, but his subjects could have experienced little happiness under his restless rule. Although twice married, Geoffrey "Martel" had no children, either by Agnes or Grecia, to whom to bequeath his great possessions; and with him ended the first branch of the Second House of Anjou, as it is called, or of the direct line from Ingelger. This last of the Ingelgerian Counts in direct descent, resigned
1060. his states in the year 1060, in favour of his two nephews, Geoffrey "le Barba" and Foulques "Rechin," and entering the monastery of St. Nicholas, at Angers, died there on the following morning, in his fifty-fourth year.

Geoffrey and Foulques, the nephews and successors of Geoffrey "Martel," were sons of Alberic, of Gastinois, and a sister of Geoffrey "Martel." The former received from his uncle, Tourraine and the town of Château Laudon, and the latter, Anjou and Saintonge. The inequality of this division was the cause of a bloody feud between

the two brothers during eight years, as well as of the most unnatural cruelty protracted over a period of thirty years more by the one brother upon the other.

The surname of "Rechin," or quarrelsome, given to Foulques IV. has, by some, been understood as referring the whole culpability of these disasters to him principally, if not solely. It appears certain, however, that Geoffrey "le Barba" began the feud by claiming a right over his brother's inheritance of Anjou. He was actually master of the whole county of Anjou in 1066. Foulques "Rechin" succeeded in making him his prisoner 1066.
in the same year, but released him on the command of Pope Alexander II. In the following year, however, 1067.
Geoffrey "le Barba" renewed the war by besieging the fortress of Brissac. Foulques "Rechin" advanced against him, and took him prisoner for the second time, together with a thousand of his partizans, and confined him in the Castle of Chinon. This incarceration was continued for thirty years, and so terrible was its results, that the unhappy Geoffrey "le Barba" lost his reason. Meanwhile, the whole Angevine nobility had been divided into two hostile camps; and very many had fallen in the civil war. The recent acquisition of Saintonge was, besides, lost to Anjou during these troubles; and to appease Philip I. of France, Foulques "Rechin" was compelled to surrender Château Laudon to the crown.

In 1073, Pope Gregory VII. excommunicated 1073.
Foulques "Rechin" for having married Ermengarde of Bourbon within the prohibited degrees. But although proved to have been a zealous Roman Catholic by his defence of the faith against heretics, and by his gifts to the Church, Foulques "Rechin" seems generally, throughout his life, to have made very light of papal anathemas. He was a second time excommunicated by the same pontiff in 1086, for his lengthy and cruel 1086.
detention of his brother in prison. But in proof of the

utter futility of these anathemas, Pope Urban II., ten years after, favoured Angers, amongst many other French cities, with a visit, to preach a crusade to the Holy Land; and having been magnificently received there by this same Foulques "Rechin," presented him with a golden rose, which had received his blessing.

Geoffrey "le Barba" was as close a prisoner as ever at that very date, though it is true that he was released shortly after, by command of this same Pope Urban II.

Foulques "Rechin" was a very abandoned character in private life. He married three wives, and repudiated them all; but the fourth repudiated him. This last, named Bertrade, was the sister of Amaury of Montfort, and was reputed the most handsome woman in the kingdom; but, such was her frailty, that after living with Foulques "Rechin" four years, she deserted him, and fled to Philip I., King of France.

By his second wife, Ermengarde, Foulques had a son named Geoffrey "Martel," who would have succeeded him in Anjou, but Bertrade was jealous of the interest of her son by "Rechin," named Foulques; and
1106. in 1106, Geoffrey "Martel" was found murdered. It would hardly be expected that Foulques "Rechin" was learned for his time, but so he is reputed. He wrote in Latin a history of the Counts of Anjou, in which, after briefly speaking of his ancestors, he informs us, that the twenty-seventh year of his reign was marked by a great prodigy. He affirms that the stars then fell like hail upon the earth, causing a great panic and mortality in France, 100 persons of rank, and 2,000 of the people having died at Angers alone. Foulques
1109. "Rechin" died in 1109, at the age of sixty-six.

His son by Bertrade, Foulques V., succeeded him. He had been invested with the county of Anjou, by Phillip I. during the lifetime of his father in 1106, after

the assassination of Geoffrey "Martel." This Count was destined, in a much shorter reign than that of his father, to attain higher alliances, and to secure wider possessions for his descendants. It was during his reign, that Anjou first became connected with the reigning family of England.

He began by annexing the county of Maine to that of Anjou, by his marriage with Eremburga, daughter of Helie, Count of Maine, who, at his death in 1110, made him his heir. Soon after, the King of France needed his assistance against the English: Foulques V. had maintained that the rank and title of Grand Seneschal of France, borne by Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle," was a family inheritance in the house of Anjou, and taking advantage of the King's present necessity to plead for a confirmation of that title to him, he gained his object. He next distinguished himself by several victories over Henry I. of England when that king invaded Normandy. His humanity to the prisoners in his triumphs quite won the heart of the English monarch, who finally sought his alliance, and a marriage was celebrated between his son William, and Matilda, the daughter of Foulques. The bridegroom at these nuptials was fourteen and the bride eleven years of age. After William's shipwreck on his return to England, Matilda retired to the abbey of Fontevrault, in Anjou, of which thirty years after she became the Abbess, and died there in 1155. 1108. 1110. 1119.

In 1120, leaving his wife Eremburga with his young children, Geoffrey and Helie, in charge of the county, Foulques made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on his return, as Grand Seneschal, he bore the banner of France, and commanded the *avant garde* of the army of Louis "le Gros." Eremburga was an amiable and high-minded lady. She bore him two sons and two daughters, who were all married to the sons and 1120.

1125. daughters of kings. She died in 1125. In the same year Foulques re-visited the East; and four years after
1129. finally returned and settled there, as heir to Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, having accepted the proffered hand of his daughter Melisende.

1131. In 1131 Foulques succeeded that prince on his throne. He died a violent death in 1144, and was buried at Jerusalem, while his son, Baldwin, by his second marriage, then mounted the throne. Foulques V., who was of a noble and enterprising spirit, was very remarkable for his bad memory; he was known to pass by without recognition persons to whom he had shortly before testified the most sincere marks of his friendship.

When Foulques departed finally for the East, he resigned his rights over Anjou, Maine, and Tourraine to his son Geoffrey "Plantagenet." This name, which served to distinguish a long line of his descendants, was derived from the badge assumed by Foulques, his father, on his way to the Holy Land. The *plantagenista*, or broom pod, when in season, was used to strew the chamber floors, and thence became an emblem of humility, and as such was borne by Foulques in his pilgrimage. Henry II., King of England, afterwards used this badge to show his descent from the House of Anjou, and it was engraved upon his robe in his monumental effigy.

In the same year that Geoffrey acceded, he espoused Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, and widow of Henry V., Emperor of Germany. Thus he found himself on the death of Henry I. heir to the crown of England, but not only was that throne usurped by
1135. Stephen, in 1135, but the Normans also preferred
1137. Stephen, who was therefore, in 1137, installed in that fiefdom by Louis "le Gros."

For four consecutive years Geoffrey made unsuccess-

ful campaigns into Normandy. Stephen died in 1141, 1141.
but the Normans did not generally succumb to Geoffrey
until the year 1144. Meantime some of his barons 1141.
of Anjou had revolted against him, and even with-
stood his authority until 1147. In punishing one of 1147.
them he sustained the first attacks of the French King
Louis VII., in open war, and braved the thunders of
Pope Eugene III. to the last. He died in 1151, at the 1151.
early age of thirty-eight. He was learned; and be-
loved by the people at large, and bore altogether a good
character. But twenty years of feudal warfare ruined
and depopulated his three counties of Anjou, Maine,
and Normandy, and the repeated neglect of a due
cultivation of the soil brought on a terrible famine
in 1146.

Geoffrey rebuilt the Castle of Seronne, which, as well as the town, was from that time named Châteauneuf. His wife Matilda, lived till 1167, and his son Henry, eventually became King of England in right of his mother. Normandy was ceded to him during the life of his father, at whose death, he likewise took possession of Anjou, and his other territories in France.

Anjou, thus united to the crown of England, was so held for upwards of half-a-century. Henry II. was born at Le Mans, in 1133, and was only eighteen when he succeeded his father in Anjou. Geoffrey had never intended to unite the possessions of Anjou, Maine, and Tourraine under the same rule as the kingdom of England. On the contrary, he had by his will left those counties temporarily to Henry, upon his oath that, from the time when he acceded to the English throne, he should surrender them to his third son, Geoffrey. An attempt however was made by Geoffrey to possess himself of them immediately after his father's death, but having been worsted in battle by 1152.
Henry, in 1152, was forced to succumb to him.

1154. At length, when Henry ascended the throne of England, in 1154, Geoffrey was a captive in the hands of the Count of Blois, Henry's ally, and instead of endeavouring to effect his liberty, and restore to him his rightful inheritance, Henry II. listened only to the dictates of his grasping ambition, and retained possession of the whole of his ill-gotten power.

1156. In 1156, Geoffrey having paid his ransom established himself in Tourraine, but his unnatural brother besieged and speedily vanquished him, and the unfortunate young Count died not long after at the early age of twenty-four.

Henry II. bears a good character in Anjou. It is
1176. stated that in 1176, during a long drought, he had transported from England nourishment for 10,000 men daily for some months; and a clause in his will provided a hundred silver marks for the marriage of the Angevine young ladies. He favoured the works of the Levée, to enclose the Loire within bounds, and they made great progress in his reign. He founded the hospital called "Hôtel Dieu," at Angers, besides other worthy establishments. Henry's administrative talents are recognised in a hundred ways by the people of Angers and Saumur; the communes and other first germs of the liberty of the *bourgeois*, date from him. He had also a great taste for learning; his court was the asylum of the learned men of Europe. In the necrology of Fontevrault, he is called the Solomon of his age. He was eloquent, loved poetry, and wrote verses himself in the Provençal tongue. Above all, having shown himself the substantial friend of the people, he was very popular. His consort, the beautiful Eleanor, the divorced of Louis VII. of France, and daughter of William X. Count of Poitiers, brought him at her marriage in
1152. 1152, the extensive and important province of Aqui-

taine; she died at Fontevrault in 1204. Henry II. died at Chinon, in July 1189, aged fifty-six. 1189.

Henry II. had four sons, named Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John. Henry and Geoffrey died in the life-time of their father, and Geoffrey left a son named Arthur.

Richard next inherited the county of Anjou, together with the other French possessions appertaining to the English monarchy. The short reign of Richard "Cœur de Lion" was entirely occupied in his combats with Saladin in the East, and with Philip Augustus in Normandy. Anjou had little enough of association with its Count during the ten years, 1189—99. Richard 1199. married in 1191, Berengaria, daughter of Sancho VI. King of Navarre; but left no children. He had designed in 1190, as his heir, Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffrey, and grandson of Henry II.; but finally bequeathed his territories to his brother John. He left, by his will, his body to Fontevrault, his heart to Rouen, and his entrails, in token of his contempt of that people, to the Poitevins.

On the death of Richard "Cœur de Lion," the in- 1199. habitants of Anjou, Tourraine, and Maine, declared in favour of Arthur, whilst England and Normandy seconded the claims of John, as successor. John, thereupon, accompanied by his mother Eleanor, led an English army to the disputed territory, and laid siege to Angers. Prince Arthur was at this time no more than twelve years old. Philip Augustus, who aspired to concentrate in his own person an absolute authority over the whole kingdom of France, at the same time decided on supporting the cause of Arthur against John, by the arms of France. But a matrimonial expedient saved much bloodshed at that time, although it was fatal to the just cause of the young Arthur.

It suited the policy of Philip Augustus to establish peace between himself and John, by effecting a marriage between his son Louis and Blanche of Castille, the niece of John.

1202. In 1202 Philip further developed beyond a doubt his ambitious projects, by marrying his daughter Mary to Prince Arthur; but in the same year Arthur was taken prisoner by John, and after a detention of nine months was strangled by his unnatural uncle, at Rouen.

1203. After Arthur's assassination, John was cited before the peers of France, to answer for that crime, and failing to appear, his provinces in France were confiscated.

1205. With his crime the fiefs of Anjou and Maine were severed from the English crown, and reverted as by right to that of France. It is true John did not voluntarily submit to the sentence, since he invaded

1206. and had possession of Angers again in 1206, when Goth-like, he demolished its ancient walls.

He lost it in the following year, and seemingly brooding over his retributory misfortunes, made no

1213. further attempt upon it until 1213. In that year, having collected a powerful army, he landed at Rochelle, and actually occupied Angers, without striking a blow. But he never really recovered the

1214. provinces forfeited by his crimes, for the year 1214 beheld him once more in retreat from Anjou, never to re-appear there, since he died on the 19th of

1216. October, 1216. In the person of King John ended what is called the "Second House of Anjou."

In 1204, after the confiscations of John's French possessions, Philip Augustus established hereditary seneschals in that part of France, the first of whom was the tutor of the unfortunate young Arthur, named William des Roches, who was in fact Count in all except the name, over Anjou, Maine, and Tourraine, owing allegiance only to the crown of

France. The Seneschal, William des Roches, died in 1222. His son-in-law, Amaury de Craon, succeeded him. Philip Augustus, whose ambitious mind, aided by fortunate circumstances, had effected such great changes, died the year after. Meantime, Henry III. of England continued to wear the titles of the French possessions of his ancestors, amongst them that of Count of Anjou, but made no attempt for the present to regain them. 1222.

Pierre Mauclerc, Duke of Brittany, however, aspired to regal power, and the Seneshal Amaury having marched a large force into Brittany was, after some successes, taken prisoner by Mauclerc, on the 3rd of March, 1223, and incarcerated at Touffeau, near Nantes. But afterwards, unequal single handed to the task of combating the French Regency of Blanche of Castile, during the minority of Louis IX., Mauclerc did homage to Henry III. of England. 1223.

On the 3rd of May, 1230, Henry disembarked a considerable army at St. Malo, in the view of re-conquering Anjou, and the other forfeited possessions of his crown. 1230.

Louis IX., then only fifteen years old, consequently came to Anjou, and having fortified its chief places, advanced to the attack of the allies; but in the following year a peace was concluded, the province of Guienne having been ceded to the English crown. In 1241, Louis gave the counties of Poitou and Auvergne to his brother Alphonso; and in the year 1246, he invested his brother Charles, Count of Provence, with the counties of Anjou and Maine, thereby annulling the rank and title of Seneschal, and instituting the 1241. 1246.

THIRD HOUSE OF ANJOU.

Charles I., the founder of the proud fortunes of this Third House, was ambitious in character, and events

long favoured his ambition. Count of Provence, through the inheritance of his consort, he had not long been invested with Anjou and Maine, ere he was invited to the conquest of Sicily. The monarchy of Sicily then comprised the same territory as the kingdom of Naples in the present day; but Palermo
1251. was its metropolis. In 1251, Pope Innocent IV. declared a crusade against Mainfroy, the natural son of Frederick II. Emperor of Germany, to whom the kingdom of Sicily then belonged, and attempted in vain to annex the Sicilian dominion to the Papal throne. Having taken a survey, therefore, of the ambitious heads of his time, he first invited England to its conquest; but failing in that quarter, he next fixed on Charles of Anjou as his fitting instrument, and offered to him the crown of Sicily. So tempting a proposition made a powerful impression upon the mind of Charles, and is said to have operated still more remarkably upon that of his wife, who longed to be a queen; but it was not at that time responded to. It was not until the reign of that Pope's successor, Urban IV., that Charles accepted the offer, and under-
1264. took the conquest. In 1264, he concluded a treaty with that pontiff, by virtue of which, amongst other engagements, it was provided, that the kingdom of Sicily should be hereditary in the family of Charles, that it should be held, however, in liege homage to the Papal throne, that an annual tribute should be paid to the Pope, by the Angevine prince, and that during a minority, the Pope should exercise the administration of the kingdom. A crusade was then preached; Charles was crowned in Rome, with his Countess, on the
1266. 6th of January, 1266. He then encountered Mainfroy, and in one great battle, that of Benevento, gained a complete victory, and Mainfroy was slain. Naples surrendered to the victor, who speedily obtained

possession of La Pouille, Calabria, Terre de Labour, and the greater part of Sicily.

Charles handsomely recompensed those who had served him, knighting some, and giving lands to others. It was also on this occasion that he instituted the order of knighthood called the Spur. The fame of the great successes of Charles of Anjou, now caused his alliance to be esteemed a desideratum amongst the highest European princes. His eldest son Charles married Mary, the only daughter of Stephen, King of Hungary. His daughter Blanche was united to the Count of Flanders, and his daughter Beatrix espoused Philip, King of Thessaly, the son of Baldwin II., Emperor of 1267.
Constantinople. By this marriage contract it was provided, that the Empire of the East should devolve on the posterity of the Count of Anjou.

The despotic character of Charles, however, was ill adapted to govern the aspirations after constitutional freedom in which the warm-hearted Italians have indulged in all ages. The Gibelins fomented a rising against him, and induced Conradin, the son of the Emperor Frederic II., and last male heir of that house, to take the lead of the insurgents.

Conradin, a youth of only sixteen, was defeated by Charles, and lost his life on the scaffold at Naples, in 1269. To the last, Conradin evinced a high spirit; 1269.
his conduct on the scaffold formed an important link in the chain of events. Before his death he addressed the people, saying, "I make Peter, King of Arragon, heir of all my rights," and having thrown down his glove in token of the investiture, the pledge was scrupulously conveyed to him for whom it was intended.

Beatrix of Savoy, the first wife of Charles of Anjou, died at Nocera, in the Terre de Labour. As heiress of Raimond Beranger, Count of Provence, her husband had assumed that title in her right, and at her death

she left the counties of Provence and Foucalquier to the House of Anjou.

Charles married secondly, with great pomp at Naples, Margaret of Burgundy. He built the Château-Neuf at Naples, some churches, and other beautiful edifices. He also favoured the university of Naples, and did not meanwhile neglect that of Angers. He made a principality of the county of Salerno, and bestowed it upon his son Charles; the eldest son of the king of Naples has from that time always borne the title of Prince of Salerno. The great influence of Charles of Anjou obtained for him the cession of the rights of Mary of Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem, that lady receiving in exchange from the county of Anjou a pension of 4,000 livres.

The treaty was ratified at Rome with the Pope's consent, and the coronation of Charles as King of Jerusalem was there celebrated. In virtue of that cession the kings of Sicily of both houses of Anjou, and some of the French kings as heirs of their rights, have taken the title and arms of king of Jerusalem, and the House of Lorraine assumes them even at the present day. But at the time of Charles, the kingdom of Jerusalem consisted only of the town of Acre and some other petty places, and not long after it became purely titular.

At last we arrive at the reverse of this picture; the fortunes of Charles had passed their zenith and were in the decline. The immediate cause of his fall can only be ascribed to his inordinate thirst after personal aggrandizement, though his tyranny over his subjects, and his cruelty towards his vanquished enemies, contributed their full share to his ruin. He prepared at once for a double enterprise, to restore Baldwin to the throne of Constantinople, which had been usurped by Michael Paleologus, and to reconquer a part of the

Holy Land. The designs of Charles were, however, frustrated by the stratagems of John of Procida.

The massacre of the Sicilian Vespers succeeded, in 1282. 1282, in which the flower of the soldiery of Anjou, Maine, and Provence fell victims to the vengeance of the oppressed. On receiving this intelligence Charles of Anjou formed a resolution to exterminate the islanders, and commanded the siege of Messina. It was at this critical juncture, after a lapse of fourteen years, that Peter, King of Arragon, who had accepted his gage from the scaffold, appeared, to avenge the death of the brave and youthful Conradin. Peter came to the relief of Messina, and turned the fortunes of the contest against the besiegers. As the climax of retribution, Charles beheld his son, the Prince of Salerno, taken prisoner on the seas by Roger Loria. Thus, in the midst of his fast declining fortunes, deprived of his natural successor, the bitterness of his last days may be better imagined than described. He died at Foggia, on the 7th of January, 1285, aged fifty-eight. 1285.

From the date of this conquest by Peter of Arragon there have been two kingdoms of Sicily so called, viz., on this side, and on that side, of the Faro of Messina.

It has been stated that Charles II., Count of Anjou, called "the Lame," was in prison when his father died. He remained so for three years. In the interval, Robert of Artois took the reins of government, and the war continued between the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. For the purpose of making a diversion in favour of the former, the Popes Martin IV. and his successor Honorius IV. offered the crown of Arragon to Charles, Count of Valois, grandson of St. Louis. Charles of Anjou obtained his freedom in 1288, but it 1288. was conditionally; that Sicily should belong to his adversary, and that he should prevail on the Count of Valois within three years to renounce his claim to the

crown of Arragon. To these conditions, however, the Pope Nicholas IV. refused his assent, and not only released him from his oath, but crowned him King of
1289. the Two Sicilies on the 29th of May, 1289. The King of Arragon then carried the war into Calabria, and after some advantages and some reverses, concluded a truce for two years. During that period Ladislaus IV., King of Hungary, died without issue, leaving that kingdom to his sister Mary, the wife of Charles of Anjou. But Charles II. presented it to his son, Charles "Martel," who was accordingly crowned King of Hungary on the
1290. 8th of September, 1290. This branch of the family of Anjou gave three kings and one queen to Hungary. Louis, the third of these kings, was also King of Poland, and had three daughters, with whom the race became extinct.

The oath taken by Charles of Anjou on his release from prison still remained valid in the eyes of some diplomatists, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope. In order, therefore, to terminate the discord which prevailed, a council was held, and a treaty signed at Montpelier, in 1290. It was thereat decided, that Sicily should be restored to Charles of Anjou, despite his oath, and that Charles of Valois should renounce his claim to Arragon, receiving in consideration thereof the hand of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Charles "le Boiteux," whose dower was to consist of the counties of Anjou and Maine.

This treaty was only executed in part; for the King of Arragon and his successors constantly refused to surrender Sicily. The marriage, however, of Charles of Anjou's daughter, Margaret, with the Count of
1290. Valois was duly celebrated on the 16th of August, 1290; and thus the county of Anjou passed away from the first family of Anjou-Sicily, in which it had remained forty-four years, and entered into that of Valois. It is

not our province to follow the fortunes of Charles II. of Anjou from the date of his cession of that province.

His immediate government of Anjou was chiefly remarkable for a bitter and implacable persecution in 1289 of the Hebrew race, which was, indeed, at that time expelled from the whole of France. His death did not occur until many years after, in 1309, at Casenova, near Naples. He was as celebrated for his large progeny as his sire had been for his ambition. He had by his wife, Mary of Hungary, ten sons and five daughters, eleven of whom, as having become distinguished, it will be as well to enumerate here.

CHARLES "MARTEL," King of Hungary.
ROBERT, King of Naples.
PHILIP, Prince of Tarentum, and titular Emperor of Constantinople.
TRISTAN, Prince of Salerno.
JOHN, LOUIS, } both Dukes of Duras.
MARGARET, wife of Charles of Valois, Count of Anjou.
BLANCHE, wife of James II., King of Arragon.
ELEANORA, wife of Frederick, King of Sicily.
MARY, wife of Sancho, King of Majorca.
BEATRIX, wife of Azzon VIII., Marquis of Este and Farrara.

As most of these children of Charles II. became heads of families, thence arose the double titles for the sake of distinction of Anjou-Sicily, Anjou-Hungary, Anjou-Poland, Anjou-Tarentum, Anjou-Imperial, Anjou-Duras, &c. And yet, a hundred years later, there remained not a single prince of the blood of Charles II. of Anjou.

In the year 1290, Charles of Valois became by his marriage Count of Anjou, as Charles III. He was the younger son of Philip "le Hardi," and was remarkable for his skill and bravery in all the great events of his time. The war having been renewed between France and England, on occasion of Edward I. refusing to do homage to Philip for Guienne, Charles of Anjou was 1290. 1296-7.

successful in his engagements both with the English and the Flemish. Thus his brother, Philip "le Bel," in order to recompense his bravery, and at the same time to replace one of the twelve ancient counties or duchies, of which the neighbouring kings had obtained
1297. possession, elevated Anjou, in 1297, into a peerage county. Two years later, Charles of Anjou again commanded the forces of France against those of England and Flanders, with so complete a success, that the Count of Flanders was obliged to surrender at discretion; and the King of France detained him as his prisoner, and took possession of Flanders. The King of England thereupon abandoned the side of the Flemish, and having been re-established in Guienne,
1303. peace was restored. The Count of Anjou assisted at
1305. the coronation of Pope Clement V. at Lyons, in 1305. That pontiff was the first to choose Avignon as his abode. Louis X., son of Philip "le Bel," on ascend-
1314. ing the throne of France, in 1314, complained to Enguerraud de Marigny, the treasurer of the kingdom, of the disordered state of the finances. Doubtless these disorders were attributable to the repeated wars of Philip's reign, in which Charles III. of Anjou had taken a principal part. The treasurer boldly ascribed the circumstance to Charles of Anjou, a great imprudence against a man of such princely power. Charles retorted by accusing Marigny of peculation, and succeeded in his design of crushing him; and Enguerraud was accordingly hanged at Montfaucon,
1315. in 1315, to the subsequent remorse and lasting disgrace of this Count of Anjou. In 1317 Charles bestowed the county of Maine on his son Philip. This separation of the rule of the two counties, which had been so long historically connected, lasted very few years.

Charles III. died at Nogent-le-Roi on the 16th of

November, 1325, and at his death the administration of Anjou also passed into the hands of his son Philip. 1325.

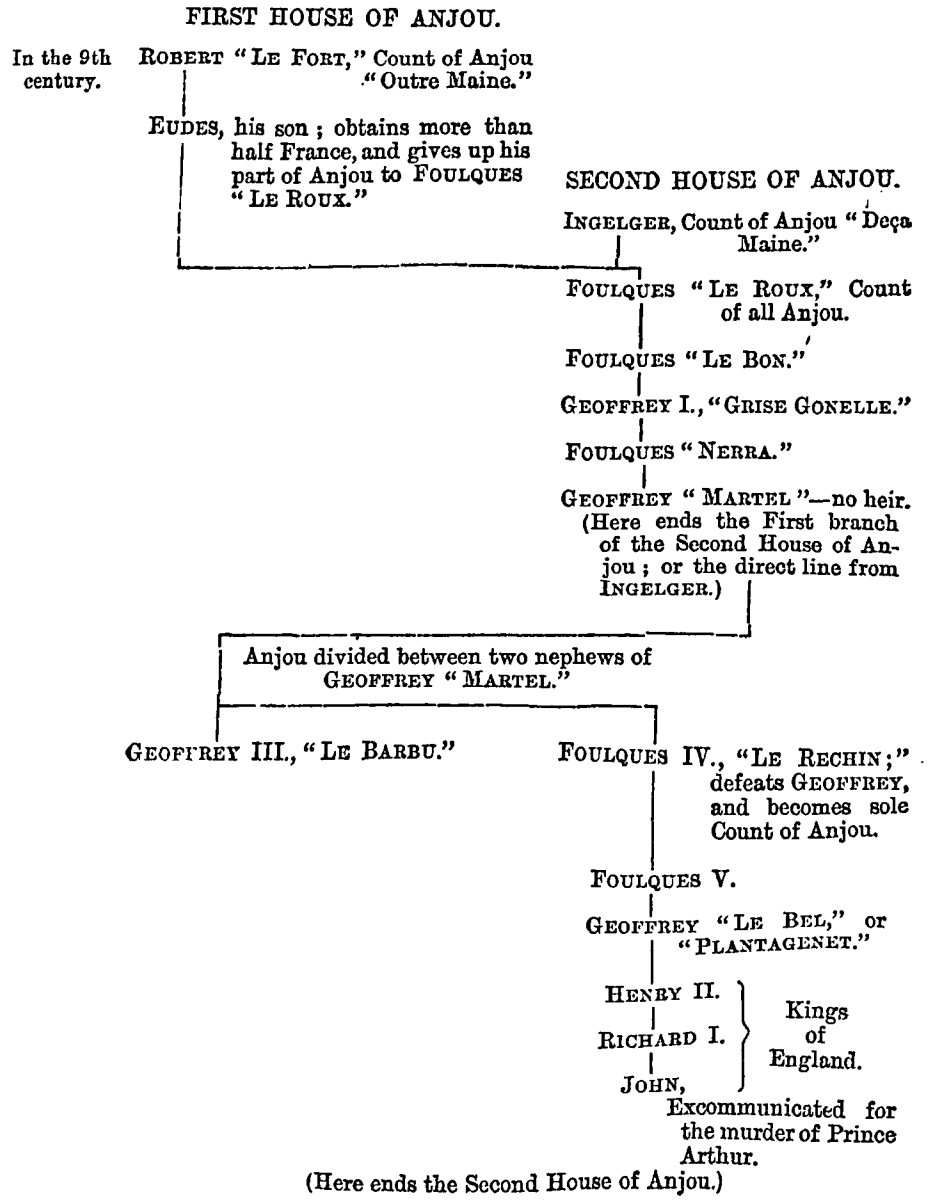
Charles IV. of France, surnamed "le Bel," leaving no direct heir at his death, Edward III. of England disputed the succession with Philip of Anjou and Valois. The former, as nephew of Charles IV., urged the right of his mother, Isabella, and in that way he was one degree nearer than his rival; but Philip's claim being from the male line was preferred. In the year 1328, therefore, Philip of Valois, Count of Anjou, ascended the throne of France as Philip VI., and re-united Anjou to the French crown. 1328.

Subsequently, in 1332, Philip invested his son John with the territories of Anjou and Maine. They so remained until the accession of John to the throne of France, in 1350, as John II. "the Good," when they were once again united with the sovereign rule in his person. In the meanwhile, the battle of Cressy had intervened in 1346, and a period of humility and misfortune had set in for France, in which, however, Anjou did not play a very prominent part. John gave Anjou and Maine to his second son, Louis I., in 1356, the very year in which he was himself taken prisoner by the English, in their renowned victory at Poitiers. Finally, Charles, the eldest son of John, afterwards Charles V. of France, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom during the captivity of John, erected Anjou into a peerage duchy, in 1360, in the person of his brother, Louis I., who then became first Duke of Anjou. 1332. 1350. 1356. 1360.

With this detail the reader has now been transported over a period of almost six centuries, to the epoch of the accession of the paternal grandfather of King René.*

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Chalon's France; Hallam's Middle Ages; Carte; Mezerai; Froissart.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSES OF ANJOU.


FIRST HOUSE OF ANJOU.
In the 9th century.
ROBERT "LE FORT," Count of Anjou "Outre Maine."
EUDES, his son; obtains more than half France, and gives up his part of Anjou to FOULQUES "LE ROUX."
SECOND HOUSE OF ANJOU.
INGELGER, Count of Anjou "Deça Maine."
FOULQUES "LE ROUX," Count of all Anjou.
FOULQUES "LE BON."
GEOFFREY I., "GRISE GONELLE."
FOULQUES "NERRA."
GEOFFREY "MARTEL"—no heir.
(Here ends the First branch of the Second House of Anjou; or the direct line from INGELGER.)
Anjou divided between two nephews of GEOFFREY "MARTEL."
GEOFFREY III., "LE BARBU."
FOULQUES IV., "LE RECHIN;" defeats GEOFFREY, and becomes sole Count of Anjou.
FOULQUES V.
GEOFFREY "LE BEL," or "PLANTAGENET."
HENRY II.
RICHARD I.
JOHN,
Kings of England.
Excommunicated for the murder of Prince Arthur.
(Here ends the Second House of Anjou.)

After the excommunication of King John, Philippe Auguste, King of France, regained possession of Anjou and Maine.

These counties were governed by a Seneschal, until the time of Louis IX., or St. Louis, who invested his brother Charles with them, in 1290.

THIRD HOUSE OF ANJOU; OR FIRST HOUSE (OR LINE OF ROBERT "LE FORT") RESTORED, CALLED "VALOIS."

CHARLES, First Count of Anjou.

CHARLES, Second Count of Anjou.

CHARLES, Third Count of Anjou; CHARLES bestowed, in 1317, the county of Maine on his son PHILIPPE.

PHILIPPE DE VALOIS, Count of Anjou, and afterwards King of France. PHILIPPE, in 1332, invested his son JOHN with Anjou and Maine.

JOHN, Count of Anjou, and afterwards King of France. JOHN, in 1356, invested his son LOUIS with Anjou and Maine.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

PART II.

THE ANGEVINE HISTORY—*continued.*

The Ancestors of King René.—John, King of France,—Louis, First Duke of Anjou.—Louis II.—Louis III.

THE history of the "Dark Ages," necessarily written with many imperfections, is generally read with still less of that earnest attention which the other chapters of history command. There exists a tendency to depreciate the value of its records, because some of them have been always enveloped in doubt and mystery. Can the public rest satisfied that there has been no stone left unturned, even at the present hour, in the course of the Herculean task of the historian, which might admit of a little more of the light of truth? If so, should we not rather trust to the moderate compass and concentrated efforts of the biographer's labours to disinter those facts from their silent tomb of ages? Is there not enough also of interest and importance in the times which gave birth to and cradled the first living germs of our present proud liberties to invite to further research? In a word, is there not in the dawn of civilization a strong enough motive to enchain us to its study?

As in the darkest hour which immediately precedes the natural morn, the mind's prospect alone serves to cheer and enliven the thickness of that gloom, so to us, who have learnt the certain result, should appear the

profound intellectual darkness preceding, and introducing, literature and civil and religious liberty.

Regarding only the stormy turbulence of those times, or the cruelties exercised by individuals, they might be pronounced "barbarous;" but, let it also be remembered, that from that period is traced the origin of all our noblest institutions, and of that total change which was effected in the manners and customs, politics and religion of England.

In this country, the seeds of dissent had already, before the establishment of the Lancastrian dynasty, paved the way for the great Reformation; but, while the preaching of Wycliffe and others had awakened inquiry, and agitated men's minds, it had also led to cruel persecutions; for the day had not yet arrived when Protestantism could prevail to the displacing of the forms of antecedent centuries. The clergy had obtained, through their great wealth, considerable influence in temporal, as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. Bigotry and superstition had not yet yielded to intellectual light, and they often gave rise to tumult and confusion, which, while they were increased by the ignorance of the lower classes, were augmented still more by the violent and unrestrained passions of the aristocracy.

Thus was it in matters appertaining to the church, in the period immediately preceding the civil contests of the Houses of York and Lancaster; that oasis in which all principles were temporarily absorbed by personal animosity, but, out of which happily arose a new order of things ecclesiastical for succeeding generations.

In politics, the same steady progress is observable; the Parliament, introduced by Henry III., was under the Lancastrians constituted upon a broad basis of liberality for that age; municipal rights were receiving

safe development, and daily the middle class was gaining wealth and strength. But here, again, all was interrupted and impeded by the civil war, only to take deeper root at its close, assisted by the surprising influence of the printing-press.

In France, during the same period, though no Reformation was at work in religion, we find at first, the political sway of the people grown strong enough, in the large towns, to curb the arbitrary tendencies of the monarch and nobles. But notwithstanding the incessant warfare with England, which lasted nearly the whole of the fifteenth century, the French kings were enabled, by favouring circumstances, to destroy the rights of their subjects, and to establish the foundation of that despotic system under which the nation has ever since suffered. Striking indeed is the contrast between the two countries at this epoch; civilization was fast gathering strength, and liberty was entrenching itself within impervious barriers in England; tyranny was levelling popular rights under Charles V., hiring the first regular standing army under Charles VII., and perfecting the scheme of its personal ambition under the crafty guidance of Louis XI., in France. These sovereigns have been called wise and great; but upon them, as the founders of such disastrous institutions, and not upon the pretended mercurial character of the French people, are strictly chargeable the fruitless revolutions of our own times.

Yet there were certain analogies between England and France in that period, closely connected as they had been by family ties, intermixed as they were by the rivalry of their arms. Their blended histories, in that era peculiarly distinguished by its chivalric institutions, present a series of extraordinary events, and introduce us to a perfect constellation of heroic characters, which appear equally to emerge from the

lowest as from the highest grades of society. Perhaps the most important analogy, because under the different circumstances of the two nations, the same result ensued, and the same unerring precept was inculcated in the science of administration, consisted in the disastrous minorities of Charles VI. in France, and of Henry VI. in England. Those regencies were productive of the greatest evils to their respective countries, and how truly does the chronicler exclaim,

> "Væ genti cujus Rex est puer!"
> "Woe to that nation whose king is a child!"*

And how entirely beyond the poor limits of human foresight are the most approved of monarchical institutions, when civil war is the infallible inheritance of that people whose king may happen to be a child!

Charles V. had beheld the French provinces wrested from the English, and peace restored to the most rebellious portions of the monarchy.

He died respected for the greatness and the unity which his wisdom had created out of the ruins of Cressy and Poitiers. His son, Charles VI., was a minor at the date of his accession.

Civil war and foreign war burst forth, and with equal ruthlessness laid waste his miserable country. The famous battle of Agincourt supervenes, and the epoch of England's greatest continental conquest was precisely that of the minority of Charles VI. of France. But, flushed with the glory of his victories, with the gratified ambition of his aggrandizement, the English king, Henry V., regardless of the lesson of state concealed under the misfortunes of his prostrated enemy, bequeathed all his greatness to the puny grasp of just such a minor!

The tide rolls back from that hour as inexorably to

* Baker's Chron.

the absorption of England's foreign possessions, and the abasement of all her boasted strength, unity, and grandeur. The personal fate of Henry VI. comes to be even more despised than that of the "King of Bourges" himself, in the petty conflicts of a miserable civil war. That England did not then succumb under as desperate a thraldom as held France for succeeding centuries, was certainly not owing to her monarchical institutions, but rather to that fortunate vitality, which had been already imparted to her in the liberal constitution of her Parliament, and her municipal freedom.

Not one of its numerous provinces had taken a more remarkable part in the politics of France, at the epoch referred to, than the county of Anjou. No families had rendered themselves more renowned in the history of the world, throughout the ages immediately preceding, than those distinguished by the early chroniclers as the "Three Houses of Anjou." Ambition, generally of a laudable character, seems to have been the ruling passion of the majority of the members of those Houses; lofty aspirations, for the most part accompanied by feelings of honour, were the instigators to their memorable deeds, whether considered individually, or as a collected family. To the illustrious ancestors of the "Good King René" and his celebrated daughter, Queen Margaret of Anjou, may be with singular justice applied the beautiful lines of our Bard of Avon:—

> "Glory is like a circle in the water,
> "Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
> "Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought."

From a humble origin in the persons of Robert "le Fort" and Ingelger, two contemporary counts of the ninth century, the Houses of Anjou never ceased to extend their influence through individual enterprise and unexpected accessions of power, until they wielded the dominion over seventeen foreign kingdoms!

From the Houses of Anjou we trace all the kings of France of the Third, or Capetian dynasty; eleven kings of England, well known as the race of Plantagenet, besides several kings and queens of Jerusalem, Arragon, Spain, Naples, and Hungary;—so that, at one period, almost all the crowned heads of Europe could trace their pedigree by marriage or by conquest, to the House of Anjou as their great parent source. Yet, only one hundred years after the families of Anjou had, in the Third House, attained the zenith of their prosperity, not a single prince of that far-famed line survived!

In the person of René, became extinct the last of the hereditary Dukes of Anjou. At his death that province was finally re-united to the crown, and degenerated into a mere appanage possessed by the younger sons of the kings of France.

With René terminated the Fourth House of Anjou, according to the division of certain authors, although in reality there were but two distinct Houses, the First, Third, and Fourth having proceeded from Robert "le Fort," and the Second from Ingelger.* The preceding historical details of the reigning families, and of the county of Anjou from the time of Charlemagne to that of John, King of France, will be found explanatory of this subject, and they will also render intelligible the numerous titles borne by King René, which only served to emblazon the escutcheon of an all but titular prince.†

But if, as the last male descendant of a long line of distinguished characters, René, Duke of Anjou, has a claim upon the attention of posterity, there is good reason to hope that when the poetry and chivalry, the virtues and misfortunes of his long life are set forth, the history of this king of Sicily and Jerusalem

* Bodin. † See page 32.

will command our interest and sympathy even in the annals of the "Dark Ages." And if, as the father of one of England's greatest, and most unfortunate, and most maligned of queens, modern literature ought to possess some English record of René of Anjou, how incomplete would it prove without an accompanying memoir of the heroic queen of Henry VI.! Yes, though biography has not omitted of late years to recognise, however briefly, the merits of Queen Margaret's chequered life, it is felt, that the whole history of the "Good King" is a further testimony of itself in favour of the unhappy queen, and that the melancholy romance which surrounded the last days of each, spent nearly at the same date, forbids the separation of the blended fates of father and daughter. Some short notice then, of the immediate progenitors of René, some narrow outline of the events directly preceding his accession, is a task essential to this introductory chapter.

The battle of Poitiers, one of the most memorable conquests of English arms upon the French soil, was
1356. fought on the 16th of September, 1356.* John "the Good," King of France, who was the great grandfather of René, was present in person, together with his four sons, Charles, Louis, John, and Philip, at this battle. Its loss to the French has been equally ascribed to the cowardice of his eldest son Charles, and to the temerity of the King himself and his youngest son, Philip. Edward the Third triumphantly led John and his son, Philip, captive to England, and a truce of some years ensued.

Previous to these events King John had bestowed upon his second son Louis, by Bonne of Luxembourg, then about seventeen years of age, the counties of Anjou and Maine, in hereditary appanage; and his

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

eldest son Charles now first assumed the title of Dauphin, on the occasion of his father's imprisonment.

Louis, First Count of Anjou, the paternal grandfather of King René, was married in 1360,* upon attaining his twenty-first year, to Mary of Châtillon, usually called Mary of Blois, the daughter of Charles of Blois, Duke of Brittany. The contract of marriage was concluded at the Castle of Saumur. Mary received as her dowry a great many castles, fiefs, and baronies, and the Count of Anjou added to her jointure the third part of his counties of Anjou and Maine. 1360.

Some months later in the same year, while King John yet remained in captivity in England, the Dauphin Charles, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, elevated the county of Anjou one degree in heraldry in the person of his brother Louis I., whom he created First Duke of Anjou.

Although Louis belonged by origin to the House of Valois, he has been more generally denominated from this and subsequent occurrences the head of the "Second House of Anjou-Sicily." †

The treaty of Bretigny, between England and France, bore the date of the 1st of May in the same year, and from that period the name of Louis, Duke of Anjou, becomes of frequent repetition in the history of his country. By the articles of that treaty King John was, at length, released from his detention, under certain important conditions. His ransom was fixed at three millions of golden crowns, to be paid by instalments to England in the course of six years. But Edward III. required numerous hostages, meantime, for the performance of these stipulations, foremost among whom were to be the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and his second and third sons, the Dukes of Anjou and Berri. These princes voluntarily

* Moreri; Godard Faultrier. † Moreri; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

surrendered themselves with the rest, and King John was freed on the 25th of October, 1360.

After remaining more than two years in an easy captivity at the English court, it appears that the princes of the blood, and some others of the hostages, became impatient for their release, and offered to barter the fortresses of their territories for their liberty. In pursuance of that proposal they were in due course transported to Calais, in May, 1363, preparatory to the arrangement of the necessary guarantees. The courteous treatment of the English king towards the hostages was continued in their new quarters. They had leave to scour the country on horseback for three consecutive days, and were only required to return before sunset on the fourth. On one of these excursions, Louis of Anjou took advantage of the liberality exhibited towards them, to absent himself altogether. That it was a premeditated act is certain, since he escaped in the first place to Guise, where his wife awaited him. Thus, after fulfilling his share of the treaty for more than two years and a half, he committed a deliberate breach of faith, and took to flight in a most discreditable manner, for the sake of a few months, or it might be only weeks, of freedom. King John, who was extremely punctilious upon points of honour between princes, was greatly displeased at the circumstance, although Froissart intimates that "the King had a mind to excuse the Duke of Anjou."

Some historians have asserted that the meaning of the King's second visit to England was a voluntary surrender, expressly to repair the fault of his son. But as John was occupied for months after in organising a new crusade to the East, in which exploit he strongly desired to enlist the support of Edward III., it is more natural to conclude that his second visit to England was performed mainly with that intention.

John embarked at Boulogne, on the 3rd of January, 1364, and there is some reason for suspecting the strong displeasure of the father towards his son from the mere circumstance, that, during the seven complete intervening months Louis did not present himself at his court, and in fact, did not come to Paris until after his departure. He then, however, aggravated the flagrancy of the dishonour by boasting publicly, that when his father learnt the motive of his escape he would excuse him! Perhaps it will be found a safer judgment, after following to the end the selfish track of this most unworthy ancestor of the "Good René," to adjudge as his motives, not any amount of patriotism nor even of marital affection, but a sordid and ambitious desire of preserving his bartered castles, even at the expense of his solemn bond. 1364.

King John died in exile in the hotel of Savoy, in London, in the year 1364, and the Dauphin succeeded him on the throne of France as Charles V.

The surname of "the Wise" has been perpetuated in history in connection with the name of the new monarch. It is objectionable, as exhibiting only one side of his character. In his own time he was called Charles "the Learned," but he was acknowledged to be the most pusillanimous being in the kingdom. It may be difficult to reconcile to modern ideas that the height of wisdom can consist in a series of the most disgraceful retreats before inferior numbers, and in ever refusing battle. Yet such was the successful policy by which Charles V. regained, under his rule, nearly the whole of France of that age.

Ever timid, ever sickly, he was rarely seen out of his palace, while his presence was felt in the country only through a course of timid, revengeful, or despotic edicts, issued from time to time for the rigid performance of his servants. Hated by most of his

subjects, and feared by all, there is yet no denying to his reign a comparative wisdom, for which one examines in vain the public acts of his brothers. Under such a reign and such a master were to be moulded and restrained for sixteen consecutive years the animosities and ambition of Louis, Duke of Anjou.

At the coronation of Charles V. at Rheims, his brother, Louis, was present. One of the first acts of the new king was to create Louis of Anjou his Lieutenant General in Languedoc, granting him an almost absolute sway over that populous and thriving province. He also confirmed his youngest brother, Philip, in the title and possessions of Burgundy. This prince was gifted with a far greater share of physical courage than his brothers, and also superior talents. He was, however, lavish in his expenditure, and the slave of luxury and external display, tastes in which the King's brothers all equally participated. The Duke of Berri was the most profligate, but he had not the same restless ambition, and hatred of England, to impel him to the military extravagances into which we shall find his brother of Anjou plunging headlong.

Louis never sought to repair his breach of faith with England, and continued to exhibit against her the most bitter animosity. Thus, when called upon to enrol soldiers for the war with England, which all saw approaching, he engaged with such eagerness in the occupation which he found so congenial, and betrayed such a thirst for the encounter, that the King found it necessary to rigorously forbid his brother from crossing the frontier, lest his plans, yet incomplete, should miscarry. The hatred which Louis nourished against the English was possibly augmented by the defeat of Charles of Blois, his father-in-law, by John of Montfort, with his Breton forces and English allies,

and by his loss after the death of Charles of the inheritance of Brittany.

In Languedoc, Louis governed with tyranny; and his exactions were to the utmost limits of toleration. The sums which he thus raised were employed by him in prosecuting his wars against the English in Spain and elsewhere. Louis revenged himself on the King of Navarre for permitting the army of the Black Prince to pass through his territories, by seizing the lordship of Montpellier, which adjoined his province of Languedoc. He also, by the aid of the brave Duguesclin, invested Tarascon, and penetrating Provence, laid siege to Arles, belonging to Joanna, Queen of Naples; but in this war he was arrested by the interference of the Pope, and by his means reconciled to his cousin, Queen Joanna. These unjustifiable wars could only be maintained by the exactions of Louis on his province of Languedoc, over which he again presided in 1368, to obtain fresh supplies. 1368.

There was in the character of Louis a selfishness of purpose, and a deep seated revenge, with a hastiness of disposition singularly at variance with the wonderful self-control of his brother Charles V. To this monarch alone must be ascribed the wise administration of his country, and the concealment of his designs until the very hour for the declaration of war with England had arrived.

Upon Louis may with justice be charged the glory of having precipitated the new war, by espousing so warmly, in the first instance, the cause of Henry against Peter of Castile. To these testimonies of weakness of character, events from this date add those of unbounded cruelty, the total lack of military talents, and the possession of a very limited share of personal bravery.

The sanction of Parliament had been sought and

obtained by King Charles for the new war with England, with a view to give it an air of popularity. No sooner had the Duke of Anjou, in Languedoc, and the Duke of Berri, in Auvergne, summoned to arms, than, as if by a signal, considerable forces crowded under their standards. The companies of adventurers also generally declared themselves French. But as the leaders of some of them yet remained undecided, Louis of Anjou adopted a summary expedient for securing the allegiance of their followers. He invited these captains to meet him at Toulouse, and there treacherously fell upon and drowned, or beheaded them all. Their soldiers, thus intimidated, quickly ranged themselves in his ranks.

1369. In the progress of this war during 1369, in which the King permitted no general engagement, there were many small places taken, and the enemy was much harassed, which afforded another instance of the cruel disposition of Louis. The English had captured Roche-sur-yon, a place of no account against such a force, but, according to the judgment of Louis, the commander surrendered it too soon, and was therefore, by his orders, sewn in a sack, and cast into the river.

1371. On the 13th of December, 1371, Louis was present at the coronation of Pope Gregory XI. at Avignon. Though the election of that pontiff was not owing to French influence, the Duke of Anjou well knew that he was favourable to France; but, in fact, as events soon testified, Gregory XI. was more concerned about some new heretics in the Church than about any of the material interests of neighbouring kingdoms.

It should be a matter of satisfaction to observe that so exemplary a prince as this Louis I. of Anjou was more beloved by the fire-making bigot Gregory XI. than any of the princes of the House of France; and that he resided much oftener than the others at the

pontifical court at Avignon, displaying always great zeal for, and obedience to that Pope. To him had been confided the government of Dauphiné, where he seconded Gregory in his cruel efforts to exterminate the Vaudois. Almost the entire population of these valleys was in prison, preparatory to being conducted to the stake. Gregory even complained to Charles V. at this period that there were not prisons enough. But not long after, in 1376, he was compelled, to the great chagrin of both Charles V. and Louis, to remove his chair from Avignon to Rome.

In the year 1374, King Charles V. issued an edict 1374.
to enable his son, born on the 3rd of December, 1368, to enter upon the administration of the kingdom at the age of fourteen. At the same time he appointed, in case of his own death before that period, Louis of Anjou to govern the country in the interim, and passing over the Duke of Berri, bequeathed the guardianship of his children conjointly to his Queen Jane, his brother, Philip of Burgundy, and the Queen's brother, Louis, Duke of Bourbon. These provisions were registered in Parliament on the 21st of May in the succeeding year, in the presence of the Duke of Anjou.

Meantime, Louis governed in Languedoc as if he were its sovereign. He assembled the states there yearly, but it was in order to have voted to him, under pretext of the defence of the country, subsidies which he disposed of arbitrarily. That province was now in so ruinous a condition, and its population had been thinned to so great an extent in the course of his administration, that although the hearth-money, or tax upon fires, had been raised to two francs instead of one, it produced no more than had been collected by the half rate formerly. A day of reckoning was approaching for the selfishness, as well as great harshness, with which he exercised the extraordinary powers

delegated to him over Languedoc. But though his rule there was unlimited, it was but for life, and it has been already intimated that the personal ambition of Louis was great. He longed to bear the title of king, and to bequeath to his family a monarchy independent of the French crown. An opportunity had ere this occurred of laying claim to the kingdom of Majorca. Its king, the husband of Joanna of Naples, had been some time previously despoiled of his dominion by the King of Arragon, and the Duke of Anjou had lent him assistance to attack Catalonia in return. But the King of Majorca died in 1375, and Louis, from that time, pretended that he had bequeathed all his rights to him, in return for his succours, and asserted his title to that petty sovereignty. His claim was so far borne out that the sister and sole heiress of the King of Majorca, Isabella, Marchioness of Montferrat, had ceded her hereditary right to Louis for a sum of 5,500 livres; but no positive evidence appears of the dying testament of the late King.

The Duke of Anjou, however, declared war against the King of Arragon in his own name, and formed an alliance with the King of Castile, by which they agreed to share whatever conquests they might make. An army was raised in Languedoc, but the mediation of Gregory XI. was invoked at that juncture, and as the removal of that pontiff to Italy followed soon after, the whole question was suspended.

1376. In the spring of 1376, the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, with a pompous retinue, met the Duke of Lancaster and the Archbishop of Canterbury at Bruges to treat concerning a peace; but as Charles V. would enter into no terms that were not based upon the cession of Calais to France, no treaty was concluded, but, instead, the truce between the two countries was protracted to the 1st of April, 1377. In their hearts the

King and the Duke of Anjou really desired a renewal of the war, by which they had already profited much; and accordingly we find the latter employed in strengthening the French interests in various ways; but neither he nor Philip of Burgundy re-appeared at Bruges in April, as expected, to renew the pacific negociations.

In the following year Louis invested the fortress of Montpellier once again, without experiencing any resistance. He next resolved to besiege Bordeaux, but an English fleet arriving at this place with succours, effectually put an end to his project. 1378.

The sovereignty of Louis over Languedoc was ostensibly independent and absolute. Charles V. never interposed so long as the people were passive, and they forbore to revolt while it was possible to hope. But Louis's exactions became insupportable, and in the beginning of this year (1378) Nismes first resisted, and refused to vote the new taxes; but being unsupported was compelled to succumb, and Louis, in lieu of learning a lesson, thought no more of so trifling an ebullition. Accordingly in March, 1379, he is found imposing the heaviest fire-tax yet known on the inhabitants of Languedoc, the fires having been already reduced in the course of the last thirty years by means of war, famine, and tyranny from 100,000 to 30,000. The Council of Montpellier refused to collect this tax, and the people, driven to despair, rose on the 25th of October, and massacred the Duke's officers and eighty of their suite. Clermont-Lodêve followed the example of Montpellier, and the whole province seemed ready for revolt.

It had been well if the Duke of Anjou, then in Brittany, had hastened into Languedoc, to enforce or to withdraw the obnoxious tax; but although in his fury he threatened nothing less than to put all the in-

habitants of Montpellier to the sword and to burn down their town, he yet travelled first to Paris, and thence to his friend Gregory XI. at Avignon. The death of this Pope soon after at Rome, caused a schism in the East, and paved the way for the election of Clement VII.; when Louis, receiving from the new pontiff the assistance he required, dismissed his lieutenant to Montpellier. The citizens intimidated, threw open their gates, and suffered the leaders of the insurrection to be put to death. Louis afterwards entered this ill-fated town, seized upon all its strong places, and compelled the people to give up their arms. He then exercised upon them a terrible vengeance in hangings, decapitations, and confiscations; somewhat modified, however, through the intercession of Clement VII. and Cardinal Albans. It might well indeed be inquired what kind of man that might have been whose hand had to be stayed from the commission of atrocities even by so sanguinary a bigot as Clement VII.

It becomes necessary to remind the reader that there were two Popes at this epoch, who hated each other with the utmost zeal and fury, and divided between them the flocks of the faithful, Clement VII., at whose feet bowed France and several of the nations, including Naples and Sicily, and Urban VI. who ruled paramount at the same time over the spiritual dominions of England, Hungary, Poland, &c. This fierce sectarian rivalry impelled each to excite wars, for the territorial aggrandizement of his particular influence. It should also be borne in mind that the character of Joanna of Naples was dissolute and bad; and that there were crimes in her former life which should justly have caused her deposition. Louis "the Great," King of Hungary and Poland, who was nearly approaching the term of a long and worthy reign over those two countries, had amply borne witness to the

unworthiness of Joanna for the high position she occupied. He well knew both the weakness and cunning of her disposition, and justly suspected her intentions towards his nephew, Charles of Durazzo, who was his nearest relative and the rightful heir to her dominions.

Louis of Hungary therefore negociated with Urban VI. for the deposition of Joanna, and furnished his nephew with a small army to establish himself on her throne. Urban fulminated a pontifical bull against her, and favoured the march of Charles through Italy, in 1379, to depose her.

As Urban VI. had so strongly identified himself with this cause, it was but natural to expect a counter agitation, and a new claimant to issue forth from the rival See of Avignon. In fact an intrigue had been ripening for some time past between Joanna of Naples and Clement, by which the former proposed to exercise her vengeance upon the family of Anjou-Hungary, by depriving Charles of Durazzo of the succession, and the latter found a superior kingdom for his especial favourite, Louis of Anjou, without the trouble of adjudicating upon his claims to that of Majorca.

At the commencement of May, 1380, the Duke of Anjou quitted Languedoc for Avignon, to pursue his intrigues for the monarchy of Naples; and at length all preliminaries having been arranged, Joanna adopted Louis as her heir and successor on the 29th of June following.*

The rights of this question cannot be better defined in few words than by citing the language of Sismondi, who says,—"It has sometimes been allotted to a king, "contrary to every principle of legitimacy, to have the "right of disposing by will of his crown, when the title "of succession appears so uncertain that it is necessary

* Eccles. History; Daniel; Moreri; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

"his authority should incline the balance of the scales. "But there was no uncertainty in this case, and the "adoption of Louis of Anjou by Joanna of Naples "could not be esteemed of any value without overturn- "ing everything established in hereditary monarchical "institutions. Charles of Durazzo, *the last male "descendant of the first House of Anjou*, had married "Margaret, the daughter of Joanna's sister and *her "nearest relative on the female side.* It was impossible "to raise a doubt concerning the constitutional validity "of their united claims."

Previous to the departure of Louis for Avignon on
1380. the 23rd of April, 1380, Charles V. had felt himself compelled, as a matter of policy, to formally revoke his brother's appointment over Languedoc.

It is presumable that Louis was too much interested in his premeditated Neapolitan inheritance to heed immediately the loss and censure which fell upon him through that act of royalty. But as soon as the negociations with Clement and Joanna were terminated he journeyed direct to Paris, probably to plead privately with the King for a reversion of his decision. If such was the object of his mission, it entirely failed; he was never reinstated in the government of Languedoc, and during the remaining six weeks of Charles's life, the Duke of Anjou retired in resentment to Angers, and in fact, never saw the King again alive. Such a course was quite in keeping with the other characteristics of Louis I.

Charles V. of France died, aged forty-three, on the
1380. 16th of September, 1380, at the Castle of Beaulé sur Marne, near Vincennes. That event introduced a new era in the life of Louis of Anjou, investing him, whether for good or evil, with higher and larger powers than he had ever yet enjoyed.

Where personal advantages of so brilliant a kind

were suddenly presented, it was hardly to be expected that a being so thoroughly selfish could long resist the temptation. But the unseemly behaviour with which Louis disgraced the yet unburied remains of his royal brother was unforeseen, even by those who were best acquainted with his greedy and arrogant disposition. During the last hours of Charles V., Louis had presented himself at the castle, and was actually concealed in an adjoining chamber at the moment of his death. At that instant the Duke of Anjou, who, devoid of feelings of affection, had sought for no reconciliation with his brother, appeared, and seized upon the crown jewels and other treasures of the King, which were preserved in one of the halls of that palace. He laid claim to the effects of the crown as the eldest of the princes of the blood, and his brothers, who were present, forebore, perhaps for the sake of decorum, to oppose him.

Charles VI. was, at this time, nearly twelve years of age, and according to the new law of succession, could not be crowned until he had entered his fourteenth year; the Duke insisted consequently upon his own right to the Regency in the meantime, but his brothers refused to acquiesce in that arrangement.

All the four royal Dukes were in Paris at this time, each surrounded by his own troops, and a fight appeared imminent; when Peter of Orgemont, the Chancellor, advised the immediate coronation of Charles VI.

The Duke of Anjou was, in reality, less interested about the Regency than the affairs of Naples: he coveted rather the possession of the public coffers than the temporary government of the country; and so that he only acquired the means of arresting the prosperous march of Charles of Durazzo through Italy, or of effectually dispossessing him of that kingdom at a

later stage, it was the last of his considerations whether the realm of France ought, or ought not, to be entrusted to the fickle and incapable rule of a child.

An arbitration, therefore, was appointed for the settlement of the rival claims of the Dukes to power. It was decided that the Duke of Anjou should retain all the private property of the late King which he had pillaged; that he should be Regent at once, until the end of the ensuing month, October, at which date Charles VI. should be consecrated King, and that afterwards he should be chief of the Council, while the education and guardianship of the young princes were to remain in the care of the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon. In spite of all their arrangements, Louis of Anjou proceeded to seize upon all the money in the coffers of the state, and thus arrested public business. The soldiers around Paris, thus deprived of their pay, fell upon the peasantry, to liquidate, by means of private property, the debt of the state. The Ile de France in particular fell a prey entirely to their brutal excesses. But there was no resistance to authority on the part of the people, the oppressions being probably supposed to be only temporary.

The Duke of Anjou, however, proceeded from one exaction to another, regardless of the public sufferings, until the people rose in open rebellion. Louis then had recourse to subterfuge, and overawed by the popular strength, he condescended to make promises he meant not to perform, and was obliged to concede a delay in the collection of the obnoxious taxes until after the coronation of the new king.

The next step in the career of this avaricious man was equally in keeping with his mean and cruel nature. Rumour whispered him that there was concealed, in one of the late king's palaces, a reserve of gold and

silver ingots. It had probably transpired that the treasure lay at Melun, and thither went the Duke of Anjou, and commanded the attendance of Philip of Lavoisy, the treasurer of Charles V. Lavoisy readily confessed that he had been made the depositary of the secret, but added that his master had imposed upon him an oath to reveal it only to his son, when he came to the throne.

The Duke appeared to yield to this just plea of an honest man. He gave orders for the coronation of his nephew at Rheims, whither he dispatched him, attended by the princes, peers, and the whole court. Louis himself, however, lingered behind, and with him the obstinate Lavoisy, who still declined to betray his secret. When again closeted with him, the Duke without further scruple, sent for the executioner, and at once commanded him there, in his presence, to cut off the unhappy treasurer's head. No one at all acquainted with the savage character of Louis could for a moment doubt the fell determination of the man at that crisis. Lavoisy doubted not that he was in the power of a wild, blood-thirsty animal, and hesitated not to propitiate him.

The bars of gold and silver had been built into the walls of the Castle of Melun as stones, and the labourers who had placed them there had been disposed of, as workmen who knew the secrets of princes usually were in those days. It is needless to add that the whole treasure was extracted, and consigned to the keeping of the Regent; who, satisfied with this last cunning plunder of his nephew's effects, hurried away to the solemn ceremony of that nephew's consecration and coronation.

It is highly probable that this and the previous outrageous conduct of the Duke of Anjou, since he had become Regent, were the source of a movement now

made by Philip of Burgundy, which resulted in open discord between the brothers.

1380. The coronation of the young King took place on the 4th November, 1380;* and at that ceremony, we learn that the Duke of Burgundy, as first Peer of the kingdom, presided over all. The precedence of the "first Peer" over the Regent extended even to the dinner which followed, where, however, a little force had to be employed for its establishment. It appears that Louis was taking the highest seat at table next the King, when Philip placed himself between them, asserting and retaining his supremacy.

This act obtained for Philip the surname of "le Hardi," by which he was afterwards distinguished in history, and gave rise to the prediction of an astrologer, who happened to be present, that, "before a century should elapse, the race of Anjou would exterminate that of Burgundy;" a prophecy eventually fulfilled. The title of Regent should have protected the Duke of Anjou from this insult, if only for the sake of order; but the act can only with justice be ascribed to that pride and ambition for which Philip became celebrated, and also to a want of respect engendered by the despicable conduct of the Regent himself, and to the necessity, which was felt generally, for some bold spirit to resist his exactions and curb his intolerance. The circumstance, as might naturally be supposed, so violently offended Louis, that the royal brothers narrowly escaped a battle.†

The quarrel between Philip and Louis was almost immediately renewed, and perpetuated in consequence of the mean spirited extortions of the latter, without the slightest regard for the interests of the country, or even of his family. He had arrested the service

* Menin; Bodin. † Bodin; Menin; Selden.

of the state by his plundering, and he now refused even the means necessary for the maintenance of the royal household. In consequence of the serious rupture between them on this vital question, the Dukes were never after thoroughly reconciled, and it was fortunate for the country that ere long the destiny of Louis was to hurry him to another and distant sphere of action.

During the year 1381, it is said, that the Duke of Anjou endeavoured in vain, seven successive times, to re-impose the old obnoxious impositions in Paris. His avidity was sharpened by his projects upon Naples, though it should be observed, that he had taken no steps at present to establish his rival claims to that kingdom. 1381.

Charles of Durazzo had experienced no opposition on his march through Italy, and Urban VI. had crowned him at Rome, as Charles III. of Naples. Otho of Brunswick, the fourth husband of Joanna, was without an army to oppose the conqueror. The people of Naples rose on the 16th of July 1381, and opened the gates of the capital to Charles III., and on the 20th of August, Joanna herself, who had fled to the Castello Nuovo, was compelled to surrender it, and she became the prisoner of the new king.

It was already more than twelve months since Louis of Anjou had been adopted by the now captive Queen; and it has been keenly suggested that he was probably awaiting her death, that he might be invested with the title of king before making his entry.

Louis was, however, quietly amassing the means of raising an overwhelming force, and if tardily, yet with certainty he was approaching the ambitious ends at which he aimed. When he could bury so completely his rancour of former years, as to desire ardently to make peace with England, it was indeed time to

suspect him of designs more nearly regarding himself.
1381. At the end of 1381, he concluded a truce with this country, which was to endure until the 1st of June following.

The Duke of Anjou set out for Avignon with a magnificent train, and all the French treasure he had plundered since the death of Charles V. packed on several hundred mules. His train, however, consisted only of knights and gentlemen, the officers of the large army which had been drawn together by his orders in the south, and which had already attacked Provence.

The Provençaux hated him, and had therefore immediately declared in favour of his rival, for they had not forgotten his former unprovoked attack upon their country while he was Governor of Languedoc. But they could organize no effectual resistance, while the Duke mustered upon their territory, 9,000 *hommes d'armes.*

In the meantime, Joanna, Queen of Naples, was strangled in the Castello Nuovo, by command of
1382. Charles III., on the 12th of May, 1382. On the 30th of the same month Clement VII. invested Louis with the kingdom of Naples, and from that time he took the title of King Louis I.*

In thus raising Louis to the summit of his power and ambition, Clement of course exhorted him equally to expel Urban from Rome, as well as Charles III. from Naples; but, whatever might have been the intentions of Louis, it will presently be seen, that he never had the opportunity of seconding the aims of Clement, and that, in fact, King Louis had now attained the acme of his selfish and vain-glorious career.

The people of Provence no longer held out against the troops of Louis after his arrival. To punish them

* Hallam; Eccles. Hist.; Daniel; Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

for their temerity he surrendered their rich country to the pillage of his soldiers, and fortunately this licence was but for a short time, for in June he passed the Alps of Savoy, and entered Lombardy on his march southwards. By the middle of that month also his fleet of twenty-two armed vessels reached the Neapolitan coast. Louis himself entered the Abruzzi with his land forces by the 17th of July, and was there met by Jacques Caldora, the famed "condottiere," at the head of a body of insurgent Neapolitans.

The murder of their Queen Joanna had aroused the hatred and hostility of a great number of Neapolitan gentlemen, and alienated them effectually from the cause of Charles. At their head were the Sansaverini, some of the Orsini, Caraccioli, and Zarli, who, for a century and a half after, remained faithful to the Angevine standard in the kingdom of Naples.

To give some idea of the extent of Louis's army it is announced that it numbered at least 15,000 horse. Charles III. could not resist him openly; he therefore, with dexterity adopted the only course left to him. He avoided all encounter in the open country, fortified his strong places, and left his adversary entirely to the effects of the climate of La Pouille and Calabria, to the results of their change of nourishment upon his men and horses, and to the constant harass and gradual decay resulting from a kind of guerilla warfare which the population waged against Louis.

The French soldiery had soon exhausted the provisions they found in the public stores. They had reckoned on supplying themselves afterwards, as they had so often done in France, by plundering the peasantry. But the peasantry of Southern Italy were by no means reduced to the same degraded and impotent state as those of France. They boldly resisted the marauders, massacred small parties when-

ever such were detected, made ambuscades in dangerous passes, and surprised and pillaged in turn. By such means Louis and his rich nobility were reduced in course of time to the most excessive misery. He was obliged to rid himself in succession of all his treasure of silver, as well as, by degrees, of all the superb plate of Charles V. of which he had so covetously possessed himself, until but a single silver goblet remained. He had even been scrupulous in clothing himself in sumptuous apparel, but, at last, he was forced to content himself with a kind of worn-out finery. The splendid arms of his knights were all rusted, while most of them had lost their battle-horses and followed on foot, or on asses, or the meagre ponies of the country.

It was not, however, without an effort to recover himself, that Louis sank into such misery and despair. When he found his resources failing him, he dispatched Peter de Craon, his chamberlain, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, to his Duchess, at Angers, for fresh supplies of money. By the same messenger he also sent urgent letters to procure from his friends in Anjou, the funds necessary to prosecute his war of conquest.

The principal nobles, as well as all the wealthy individuals of Anjou, esteeming it a duty to send succours to their Duke, collected in a few days the sum of one hundred thousand ducats of gold, and entrusted them to Peter de Craon, to convey with all promptitude to his master. Craon was distinguished in rank among the first of the nobles of Anjou, yet he had been branded already as a hypocrite, thief, and assassin. How terribly misplaced was the confidence which Louis and his friends and people reposed in him!

Instead of transporting with all possible speed this

much needed treasure to the army, Peter de Craon, faithless to his trust, marched by short journeys, stopped at all the towns on his route which could afford him the opportunity of expending in an agreeable manner the sum he carried, and ended at Venice in dissipating it amongst the courtezans and gamesters with whom that city abounded.

Louis, impatient at not receiving the money he had expected, and of which he had such pressing need, beheld daily a great many of his followers dying of hunger. In vain he dispatched couriers to hasten the march of his chamberlain,—they never reached him. Ten times did Louis demand battle of Charles, even provoking him with insulting language, but in vain.

At length, in the summer of 1384, the fevers and 1384.
dysenteries of La Pouille broke out simultaneously in the ranks of both armies. Charles himself became dangerously indisposed, and was at one time reported dead, but recovered. Shortly after, the town of Biseglio was delivered up to Louis, by some barons of the Angevine party, under a solemn engagement that he would preserve it from all outrage.

It was not easy, however, to restrain his famishing soldiers from satisfying themselves at the expense of the inhabitants; and accordingly Biseglio fell a prey to their plunder and outrages. Louis, inflamed by pride and fury that his royal oath should be violated by his hirelings, and anxious, for once, not to illtreat a defenceless town which had fallen into his power, ran in person through its streets, stick in hand, to stay the disorder and repress the pillage. It appears that he overheated himself by means of his passion and his bodily exertions, on that occasion; the fever seized him, and he never rallied. Louis, King of Naples, and Duke of Anjou, died on the 10th of October, 1384,* at the age 1384.

* Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

of forty-five. But the bitterness of his last trials, upon such a temperament, cannot be omitted in enumerating the combined causes of his early death, since it has even induced some historians to ascribe it erroneously to a broken heart. Immediately upon his dissolution his army was scattered abroad in a confused and ignominious flight. Most of its soldiers, however, met their death upon the Italian soil, while some of the proudest knights of France were seen to traverse all Italy on foot, their clothes in shreds, and begging their bread.

Thus ended this vain-glorious expedition to establish an hereditary monarchy in the person of a weak, selfish, avaricious man; thus all the hoarded treasures of the "wise" King of France were lavished by his ignoble brother, and the lives of tens of thousands of Frenchmen were sacrificed to render only the more secure the right of Charles III. over the kingdom of Naples.

While the remains of the unfortunate army of Louis begged their way back to France like walking skeletons, Peter de Craon had the audacity to re-appear at court with a magnificent train.

Louis had entrusted to his consort, Mary of Blois, the government of Anjou in his absence, as well as the guardianship of his three children, Louis, who was then but five years old, Charles, and Mary.*

With the spirit and resolution which characterised Mary of Blois, she proceeded immediately to Paris, and there in her own name as the widow of Louis, and in those of her two sons, now styled Louis II. of Naples, and the Prince of Tarentum, summoned Peter de Craon to appear before the Parliament of Paris, and to restore to her the 100,000 ducats of gold which she had confided to his charge. She prosecuted the baron for robbery and felony, and demanded, as the just penalty of his crime, that the barony of Craon, and his other

* Lobineau; Bodin; Moreri; Guicciardini.

property, situated in Anjou, should be confiscated. Craon did not appear, although summoned four times.

The Parliament, therefore, pronounced him convicted of felony, and ordered the forfeiture of all his estates to the duchy of Anjou. He was condemned, besides, to restore the sum of gold he had withheld, and to submit to perpetual banishment; but his high rank and influence with some of the French nobility, enabled him to escape the just punishment of his crimes.

The enterprising Mary of Blois occupied herself at this time also, in seeking the assistance of the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, to preserve for her son Louis the sovereignty of Provence. In this undertaking she was unfortunate. All Provence, with the exception of the towns of Marseilles and Arles, had revolted to Charles III., unfurled his flag, and installed in Aix the Governor Spinola, whom he had dispatched there.

The body of Louis I. was buried in St. Martin's at Tours, and his heart was deposited in the Cathedral of St. Maurice at Angers.*

His character has been shown by his actions, already recorded, to have been one of the worst. In summing up the annals of his life, scarcely one virtue shines forth to modify the indignation inspired by his vices and crimes. Happily, his whole career affords a complete contrast with that of his grandson, and will thus serve to display only to the greater advantage the heroism, amiability, and benevolence of the "Good René." So insatiable was his love of wealth, that he created "letters of protection" which passed current in his chancery, and with the riches thus acquired, he purchased the county of Roucy, and the castleward of Rochefort; but Parliament annulled the contract of

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Sismondi; Hallam; Lobineau; Villeneuve Bargemont.

sale, and he was compelled to restore those lands to the family of Roucy. He also adopted a method of raising money employed in Italy, by selling at an extravagant rate "letters of familiarity" to all those who wished to engage in his service.

He was so utterly devoid of true magnanimity, that, although always restlessly fomenting new quarrels and campaigns, he was personally concerned in no single act of physical bravery during life. When to the long list of his evil qualities he added the no less certain evidence of his morose disposition, exemplified in his unrelenting resentment against Charles V., and his quarrel with his brother Philip, it might be truly affirmed, that, however miserable his end, his punishment was inadequate to the injuries he had inflicted. He seems not even to have enjoyed the reputation of counterbalancing virtues in private life, for it is expressly affirmed, that he evinced but little regard for his consort. An ordinance was made by Louis "the First" during his last hours, expressly to appease the remorse of his conscience; and this, while it makes some trifling amends, is confirmation also of the bad character assigned to him. By that last enactment he distributed to the shop-keepers and peasantry of Anjou and Lorraine the sum of 20,000 livres, (or 145,000 francs,) to reconcile them to the taxes and imposts which he had so unjustly levied. His title to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was as empty as to that of Jerusalem; and his descendants only inherited as possessions, *de facto*, the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Provence.

The events in connection with the rival claim to the throne of Naples should here be retraced, to make clear the causes of a protraction of the struggle in that kingdom after all hope for the Angevine standard seemed to have been utterly annihilated. A little

* Sismondi; Lobineau's Bretagne; Gaufridi; Godard Faultrier; Bodin.

episode in the history of Hungary, and of great moment in the affairs of Naples, explains how, after the death of Louis I. of Hungary, the enthusiastic people elected his daughter Mary to succeed him, crowning her *king*, contrary to their law, by which the throne was hereditary only in the male line: The rightful claimant to the throne of Hungary was Charles III. of Naples; who, after the death of Louis of Anjou, was no sooner established in peaceful possession of the Neapolitan territory, than he prepared to assert, by force of arms, his rights over Hungary. His enterprise was successful. He compelled "King Mary" to abdicate, and was 1385.
himself crowned, by the nobility, in her place. This prince, who was in the prime of life, and had been not merely exercising a sound policy in all the personal matters of his rule, but whose knowledge of military tactics had kept at bay, for so long a time, his rival of Anjou, was generally applauded. The life of Charles III. was, however, shortened, through the intrigues of an ambitious and bad woman, Elizabeth, the widow of the great Louis of Hungary. She first employed assassins who failed to dispatch him, and then, as it is believed, administered poison which caused his death.

Summary justice was inflicted on the unprincipled Queen Dowager, who was seized and thrown into the river, by the Ban of Croatia.

Her daughter Mary was also cast into prison, and 1387.
detained there until the 4th of June in the following year, when she was released and married to Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus, King of the Romans. Sigismund and Mary then mounted the Hungarian throne.

Had it not been for these occurrences, Southern Italy and Sicily might probably have enjoyed under Charles III. a protracted reign of peace; and the Angevine

family might not, after their utter defeat in the person of Louis I., have again enforced their pretensions.

Charles III. left one son, named Ladislaus, only ten years of age at the date of his death, to inherit and protect, under the tutelage of his widow, Margaret, the interests he had found so difficult to defend from spoliation. The eldest son of his rival, Louis II. of Anjou, was even a few months younger than Ladislaus, and under the guardianship of his mother, Mary of Brittany. It might have been inferred from this circumstance, that the cessation of hostilities would endure, at least during the minority of these princes. To calculate thus was, however, to lose sight of the unbending firmness and dogged perseverance of character of Mary of Brittany, evinced by her sometimes to such a degree, as to make her unscrupulous and utterly indefensible in the means she employed.

Ladislaus was acknowledged King of Naples without loss of time under the regency of his mother, Margaret; the form was fulfilled, but the fact was hollow, and the struggle of the two mothers for their children was even then impending. For before Mary of Brittany and her son Louis II. had even left France to countenance their party, it was already disputing with the adherents of Ladislaus by force of arms, both in Naples and Provence, for the claim of Louis.

Mary of Brittany had determined to contest her son's pretensions even during the lifetime of Charles III., and she repaired with him from Angers to the court of Avignon immediately after her husband's death, and there easily prevailed on Pope Clement to espouse the interests of Louis II. Secure of the papal support, she then hastened to Paris to present her children Louis and Charles, who are styled by the annalist of Anjou "the most accomplished princes in the world," to their cousin Charles VI. Accordingly

on the 9th of February, 1385, the title of Louis II. to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Provence was acknowledged by Charles of France, and in May following recognised publicly by the Pope.* On the 10th of December, 1385, Mary and her two sons entered Arles, and confirmed its privileges, a stroke of policy which won her the future hearty support of that town. 1385.

The intelligence of the death of Charles III. in June, 1386, gave at length the signal for a general revolt throughout Provence against the House of Durazzo. When established at Avignon, Mary devoted herself, with all her zeal, to the prosecution of her son's interests, and was enabled before the end of the succeeding year, 1387, to reckon with certainty on the allegiance of entire Provence.

Meantime, at the instigation of Clement, Otho, the husband of the late Queen Joanna, had entered the Neapolitan territory soon after the death of Charles III., and had occasioned a rising at Naples in July, 1386, which, after a sanguinary battle, obliged Margaret and Ladislaus to fly to Gaëta. 1386.

Louis II. was then formally proclaimed there, under the regency of his mother Mary, and at that epoch his cause seemed equally prosperous and hopeful both in Naples and Provence.†

Southern Italy might be styled peculiarly the battle-ground of the Popes in this era; they fomented all the discords, and encouraged all the battles of that unhappy country, because each beheld in the aspirant whom he seconded, a vassal and a temporal ally whose propinquity to the Eternal city made him all important as the conservator of the chair of St. Peter. Thus on this first success of the adherents of Louis II., the Gonfalonier of the Roman pontiff, Raymond des Ursins, was

* Godard Faultrier.

† Moreri; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Sismondi; Bourdigné.

chased out of Naples with the same ardour as were Margaret and her son, Ladislaus. For on either hand the rival Popes had taken sides in the quarrel for their own ends only, and Mary and Otho had taken oath to drive Urban VI. out of Rome in the event of their permanent success, just as Margaret, and in good time Ladislaus, were sworn to preserve the temporal power of Urban in Rome, if needs be against all Europe.

At this critical juncture the good fortune of Mary of Brittany was arrested on a sudden by her own hand. The Duchess of Anjou was not ignorant of the fickle enthusiasm with which the Neapolitans frequently acted before their conquerors of the hour, and fearing lest the husband of Joanna by the late success of his arms might become a new pretender, she now at once deprived him of his charge of captain general. This act proved her keen foresight, no less than the great enterprise of her character. That it was not, as at first supposed, impolitic, that on the contrary it was an act of true wisdom, will be sufficiently clear to the minds of many from the circumstance that Otho immediately placed himself under the banner of Ladislaus. The man who would be guilty of tergiversation so rapid and complete, of the abandonment in a moment of the entire principle for which he had fought, even for the sake of a slight practised on him personally, might well be suspected of the unworthy ambition for which he was displaced.*

1389. In the year 1389 Charles VI. of France, having attained his nineteenth year, resolved to bestow the Order of Chivalry upon his two cousins, Louis and Charles of Anjou. That fête was celebrated on the 1st of May, at St. Denis. The young knights passed through all the forms of the institution; and a tournament of three days' duration followed, ending with a *bal masqué.*

* Eccles. History; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

The coronation of Louis II. by the Pope, Gregory XI., took place six months later at Avignon. Charles VI., with a brilliant company, was present at this ceremony. Provence had already declared unanimously in favour of the young Louis, then only twelve years of age, who was on the first of November duly crowned and anointed King of Sicily with great magnificence. The court broke up soon after; Charles VI. returned to Paris, and the King of Sicily proceeded to Anjou, where great rejoicings were made in his honour.

Mary of Blois appears to have exercised an admirable perseverance and adjustment of designs towards the goal of her ambition, her son's advancement. She had undoubtedly, before the date of his coronation, been in treaty with John I. of Arragon concerning a project for marrying him advantageously. The Arragonese fleets were among the best of that era, and keeping in view the disputed question of succession in the sea-girt island of Sicily, and the Neapolitan peninsula, an alliance with such a power was peculiarly desirable for the pretensions of Louis. On the other hand the King of Arragon could hardly be adverse to a match which offered to his daughter the prospect of a throne, with many other advantages.

In the course of the winter the young King journeyed to Barcelona, and there was united to Yolande, daughter of John I., King of Arragon. Louis was not yet thirteen years of age, but the espousals were in unison with the matrimonial custom of the age. On the occasion of this ceremony, Mary announced publicly the next step in her projects for her son's aggrandizement; viz., that he should set out in person in the ensuing summer to Italy, to assert his rights.*

Louis II. of Anjou did in fact set sail from Marseilles 1390.
on the 20th of July, 1390, with a fleet of twenty-

* Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Sismondi; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont.

one ships, and landed at Naples on the 14th of August.* He there met with a triumphant reception. The feudal government, first introduced into the kingdom of Naples by the Norman kings, had been strengthened by the Angevine princes, and at the close of the fourteenth century the government of Naples continued altogether feudal. Extensive domains had been bestowed by way of appanage on the princes of the blood, and these were at one period numerous. The greatest part of the kingdom was the principality of Tarentum, and the rest belonged to some great families, who exhibited their power and their pride in the number of men-at-arms they could assemble under their banner. Thus it was that at the coronation of Louis II., the Sansaverini appeared, attended by 1,800 cavalry completely equipped.

The supporters of Ladislaus had become discontented, by reason of the exactions which his mother had been compelled to levy to prosecute the war. The people of Naples, as well as the feudal lieges of great part of the surrounding territory, had changed sides; and it was not perhaps wonderful, that the child who had never yet taxed them for his necessities, and who now for the first time presented himself before them, should succeed under these favourable circumstances in winning their present homage and support.

He was well escorted and received in Naples; but at first, all the forts around were in the possession of Ladislaus, and it required time, especially with the superior military tactics then practised in Italy, to
1391. besiege and capture them. A year later, we find Ladislaus still at Gaëta, and in secure possession of the northern provinces.

It would appear, at first sight, that Margaret of Durazzo laboured under a great disadvantage as com-

* Bourdigné; Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

pared with Mary of Blois, in being compelled to draw largely upon the resources of the country itself, for whose dominion she was contending. A reaction had, however, already begun in the affairs of the latter, and it became evident that the dissatisfaction of the other countrymen, over whom Mary ruled and whose resources she drained, could prove as detrimental to her cause as any difficulties upon the Italian soil itself.

It is remarkable, that neither Charles VI., who had professed so staunch a partizanship for the cause of Louis, nor France, of which Anjou was an integral part though an appanage, did anything whatever for him in this enterprise, from the date of his coronation. To Mary of Blois alone was due all the praise for the vigour and perseverance with which Naples had hitherto been attacked and maintained, for she was the soul of those strenuous efforts by which the Angevines had been numerously and continually pressed into the service of Louis II.; but upon her also rested the entire responsibility of having taxed and levied arbitrarily and exorbitantly, for the same purpose, the people of Provence, totally regardless of the privileges she had confirmed to them four or five years before. In consequence, although the ever loyal province of Anjou continued in tranquillity, the old civil war between the factions of Anjou and Durazzo broke out again with renewed vigour in Provence, and raged there at the same time and with the same intensity, as at Naples. Upon the head of Mary of Blois rests the odium of having kindled anew these flames; of having foiled, by her unscrupulous excesses, the masterpiece of her previous talented career; and of having ruined the brightest hopes which her maternal pride and affection had built up, by disregarding the happiness of her subjects and the solemn pledges by which she had sworn to protect them.

1395 By the time that Louis II. had attained the age of eighteen, his own mediocre capacity, combined with the bad faith of his mother in violating the capitulation by virtue of which the Provencaux had submitted to her, and the greater talents and energy of his rival, had nearly disinherited him of Provence as well as of Naples. Count Raymond de Turenne, a partizan chief of the House of Durazzo, had, by the year 1395, subjected anew nearly all Provence to Ladislaus.

Mary of Blois, at length, relinquished in despair the task of directing her son's cause, and quitted the neighbourhood of the struggle altogether. She now alternately employed herself in the government of her loyal subjects at Angers, and frequenting the grandeurs of the King's court at Paris; while Louis continued at Naples in the enjoyment of a very limited sway.

The Angevine cause was shortly after arrested wholly by the Pope at Avignon, the Seneschal of Provence, and the Bishop of Valence. The disputed territory of Provence was fearfully laid waste, for the civil war raged most violently there at this period; and so numerous became the bands of adventurers who crossed the frontier from France, to join the camp of Turenne, that Benedict XIII., who had succeeded Gregory XI. at Avignon, sued for, and obtained an edict from Charles VI. to interdict and restrain that practice.

Mary of Brittany, when devoting herself to her rule over her attached people of Anjou, in some of her enactments exhibited much wisdom and piety. There had existed for a long while among the Angevins a tax called *Tierçage*, which consisted in allotting to the clergy a third of the value of his household goods, on the death of an individual.

This tax had an immoral tendency, and was a sub-

ject of great affliction. Perceiving how dangerous to religion was the struggle which this impost occasioned, Mary contrived to reconcile the inhabitants of Anjou to their curates, by converting the *Tierçage* into a tribute of *fouage* or hearth-money, which, less arbitrary in its nature, only obliged them to pay one penny as an oblation for each fire on the sabbath-day, and the curates were then expected to inter without any other remuneration. The poor besides, were exempted from paying this tax altogether. This act, which redounds so creditably to the memory of the Duchess, was finally confirmed by Parliament.*

Again, we are constrained to admire the strength and pertinacity of character of Mary of Brittany, when devoting herself to a good purpose, for it was not out of a weakness for the gaieties and luxuries of the court of France that a woman of her mould resided at repeated intervals in the French metropolis. She was engaged in the pursuit of justice; she had been plundered, and she watched her opportunities for bringing the culprit into court, that she might obtain a reimbursement of her due. Doubtless she had watched the dawn of a broad ray of hope out of the iniquitous attempt made upon the life of the Constable Clisson by the same Pièrre de Craon, who, ten years before, had failed to appear before Parliament in answer to her charges of robbery. The patronage of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany had sheltered him from the execution of the sentence then passed upon him. Mary had, however, entered a new cause against him before Parliament, for the restitution of the late Duke of Anjou's 100,000 ducats of gold; but Craon dared not to appear, on account of the greater crime of which he had since been guilty. Even this difficulty was at length surmounted by the Duchess, who solicited and

* Godard Faultrier.

obtained for him letters of abolition or exemption for his greater crime of attempted assassination, in order to compel him to appear in answer to her accusation. A trial in due form ensued, and Pièrre de Craon was sentenced to refund immediately to the Duchess the whole amount in question, or to be imprisoned until such time as her claim should be satisfied. Mary formally returned thanks to the assembly, and Pièrre de Craon was at once seized, and imprisoned in the castle of the Louvre.*

1400. In the course of his long contest with Ladislaus, Louis II. had, at length, drained all his resources; and although by the year 1400,† Provence was once more beaten into submission to his rule, and although he never omitted to style himself King of Sicily, his generalship and personal administration of affairs would appear to have alienated from him, during the same period, the kingdom of Naples. He had besides, before this date, lost the support of his spiritual chief by the blockade of Benedict XIII., at Avignon, by the arms of France.

At Tarentum, on the 13th of July, 1400, he learnt that the city of Naples had opened its gates to his rival, and that his brother Charles was besieged in the Castello Nuovo. His partisans were still very numerous, and he was yet in possession of half the kingdom; but, unable to bear the straits of poverty, he hastily relieved his brother, and then abandoned the country altogether for which he had been so long contending.‡ This circumstance is sufficiently demonstrative of the mediocre talents of this prince, as well as of a total absence of ordinary energy, perseverance and judgment in his disposition and character. Like his cousin, Charles VI. of France, he had been prematurely, as a child, invited to a throne; even, perhaps,

* Bodin; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier. † Bodin. ‡ Bodin; Sismondi.

before he had learnt to wield the sceptre, which he thus hastily suffered to escape his grasp. It might be, however, that he relinquished it to attend the ceremony awaiting him in Provence; viz., the celebration of his nuptials there with Yolande of Arragon.

That event took place with the accustomed rejoicings not long afterwards, and thence the royal couple proceeded to Avignon, where they resided for two or three years; during which time, no effort was made to revive the hereditary claims of Louis on the kingdom of Naples.

The consort of Louis II. brought to him as her dower, her right to the crowns of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, and by her marriage received that of Sicily; therefore was she usually styled "The Queen of the four kingdoms." Yolande subsequently inhabited the castle of Angers, and took pleasure in embellishing it. To her, as well as to her mother-in-law, Mary of Brittany, has been attributed the construction of the chapel which forms part of the castle, and the roof of which is raised above its towers.*

While Yolande dwelt at Angers, she exhibited great partiality for the promenade of Lesvière, a priory near Angers, surrounded by cornfields and vineyards. Bourdigné relates a curious anecdote of Yolande. He says that—"during one of these walks, diverting herself "in the company of her ladies and gentlemen, she "reached the priory of Lesvière, and there seated her- "self upon the ground, and contemplated the sports of "some young spaniels belonging to the party. Sud- "denly, a rabbit sprang from a neighbouring bush, and, "frightened at the barking of the dogs, took refuge in "the lap of the queen. She fondled the animal, which "evinced no desire to escape and remained in its new "quarters for some time, apparently forgetting its natural

* Moreri; Bodin; Daniel; Godard Faultrier.

"wildness. Queen Yolande construed the circumstance "into an omen favourable to herself, and commanded "the bush to be dug up whence the rabbit had sprung; "when, to the surprise of all, a subterranean vault was "there discovered, containing an image of the Virgin "holding an infant in her arms, with a glass lamp in "front of her. In her satisfaction, Yolande caused a "little oratory to be erected on this spot, which, like "similar endowed edifices, had its visitants and its "miracles from that time." *

1403. The schism in the papacy had endured so long, and so many fruitless efforts had been made to terminate it, that a kind of public opinion had been raised against it, which, shortly before the beginning of the fifteenth century, had displayed some activity upon the question. Benedict XIII. had refused, in opposition to the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who then directed the destinies of France, to resign simultaneously with his rival and submit to the decision of a council. He had been, consequently, besieged during five years in his palace at Avignon, as a fomenter of the schism, by an army sent in the name of the French king. The king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, still supported Benedict, perhaps chiefly because whatever party received the favour of Burgundy was certain to engage his cordial hatred.

Louis II. also, from other motives, countenanced Benedict. This pope had sustained his pretensions to the kingdom of Sicily, and if he succumbed, his Italian interests must suffer seriously, for the new pontiff elected by the council might favour the rights of Ladislaus, and the anathemas of a pope exercising a spiritual autocracy over the millions were not to be lightly estimated in that age. Louis therefore determined to act in opposition to the government, court, and army of

* Bourdigné; Godard Faultrier.

France, and upon this occasion he evinced symptoms of energy and vigour. Early in 1403, he went to Avignon, and gained easy access to the pontifical palace; he rendered his homage to Benedict, offered him his protection and assistance, and concerted with him for his liberation. Not long after, Benedict escaped in disguise to Château Renard, a fortress belonging to Louis, where a guard of safety awaited him.

Unworthy indeed must have been the subject of this solicitude, for within one short year after he had thus obtained his freedom, both the King of Sicily and the Duke of Orleans were utterly disgusted with the pride, selfishness, and obstinacy of this elect of half Christendom. 1404.

On the 12th of November, 1404, Mary of Blois, the queen-mother of Sicily and Duchess of Anjou expired at Angers; and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Maurice in that city.* 1404.

As long as she lived she had governed Anjou and Maine as a patrimony out of which to make her profit. She had amassed there a treasure of two hundred thousand crowns, which had been accumulating even during the period when her son was in distress in Italy, and was constrained, at last, to abandon the kingdom of Naples for want of money. Her maternal solicitude seems to have undergone a serious change from the date of her son's reverses. There was no great expression of public lamentation in Anjou on the occasion of her demise.

The life of the King of Sicily from this period becomes rather closely identified with the history of the court and government of France. He occupied the third rank in the royal council, which ruled the kingdom; but as minister he did not, whether from want of

* Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

talents or ambition, distinguish himself in his new and exalted position.

It was much in that age not to have rendered himself notorious for his vices, not to say crimes, like his father and his uncle of Berri did before him, and like some of his contemporary relations, who did disgrace and brutalize themselves a little later, as it were, in his presence and company.

If he never signalised himself by the practice of great and exalted virtues, at least, he can never be charged with the exercise of gross vices, or even of petty crimes. It has even been affirmed that, whilst in Italy, he had learnt by heart, as a lesson of faith, the necessity of making himself beloved, in order to win and preserve a crown. It is asserted of him, that at Naples, and still more in Calabria, he had gained credit for good nature, amiability, and a degree of liberality which partook rather of prodigality.

In this new character the King of Sicily became adverse to intrigue and unambitious; not the leader of factions, but the mediator between hostile parties on many occasions in the course of the terrible and tedious ordeal of civil feud to which France became subsequently exposed.

Louis II. assisted at the funeral obsequies of the Duke of Orleans, as well as at the subsequent reception of his widow, the Duchess, whom he led into the King's presence to make her formal complaint of the inhuman murder of her lord by the Duke of Burgundy.*

It must be remembered that the French court was at this time the most dissolute of the age, and that the French people were sunk in misery and deprived of the shadow of liberty; thus we may more readily comprehend the strange dereliction of duty, and the fatal

* Sismondi; Monstrelet.

display of imbecility, immorality, and injustice which supervened. When the formidable and unscrupulous Jean "sans Peur" appeared before the capital in hostile array, no one remained near the imbecile monarch bold enough, or sufficiently talented to oppose the designs of this insurgent, and the council contented themselves with praying him to grant a conference ere he advanced on the city.

It is observable, as delineating the more accurately shades of character, that while the King of Sicily and the renegade old Duke of Berri could so far tolerate the triumphant murderer of Orleans as to meet him at Amiens for a parley, the upright brother-in-law of the late king, the only member of the royal family of France in those times whose character remains wholly unsullied at the bar of history, the Duke of Bourbon, seeing only disgrace in this unjust compromise, retired in disgust to his duchy. The good service which the moderate Duke of Anjou thought to render to his king and country by that compact was, in fact, a deliberate surrender of the nation's, the king's, and his own honour.

Following then, an invariable rule, innocence and truth having first conceded, there was no end to the impudent encroachments of guilt, until it became evident at last, that France would have been in a better position if every other member of the royal council had followed the example of Bourbon. Early in February, 1409, a pretended reconciliation was effected with the Duke of Burgundy at Châtres. The King of Sicily was one of those present in close proximity to the king.

The scene is once again changed from the court and civil contests of France to the soil of Italy. Here, in May, 1409, Louis II. found another opportunity for contesting the Neapolitan dominion. The Council of Pisa had deposed the two popes, Benôit XIII. and 1409. Sismondi.

Gregory XII., and had elected Alexander V. But the chair of St. Peter and the Papal States were forcibly subjected to the temporal power of a refractory and ambitious king, to wit, Ladislaus of Naples. This monarch, now verging on the prime of life, and having been successful through his talents, energy, and perseverance, aspired to the Imperial crown and adopted for his device, "*Aut Cæsar aut nullus.*" He rejected, therefore, as a matter of course, the Council of Pisa, and declared in favour of the easy Gregory XII., who was indeed nothing better than his paid and passive instrument. He had already made war on the Florentines, because they would not acknowledge him legitimate sovereign of the states of the church. On the other hand, the Florentines and their allies had recognised the council and the new pope. They desired to expel Ladislaus from Rome, and fixing upon Louis of Anjou as a worthy coadjutor, in consequence of his claims to the throne of Naples, they offered him the command of a joint expedition against their common enemy. They accordingly influenced the Council of Pisa to acknowledge Louis, King of Naples, and he in turn, thus supported, undertook to establish Alexander V. in the papal chair. With this view he embarked 1,500 Provençal cavaliers on five vessels at Marseilles, and arrived at Pisa by the end of July.

Alexander there invested him with the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem, and with the Gonfalon of the Church; and Louis, having joined the Florentine army, entered the pontifical states. The Florentine army was commanded by Braccio di Montane, Malateste di Pisaro, and Ange de la Pergola, all celebrated generals, and better versed in the art of war than any Frenchman of that period. Some of the cities of the Papal States opened their gates to them without opposition, and this emboldened Louis with Quixotic

valour to push his army to the siege of Rome, where, however, he soon suffered a repulse from the Count de Troya, who commanded the city for Ladislaus. Thus the campaign of Louis terminated for that year. He could not patiently await in camp in person beyond November, when he crossed again to Provence, and hastened back with all speed to Paris. Before he reached that city the army he had abandoned had been admitted into Rome, and Paul Orsini went over to the Florentines with 2,000 horsemen.*

The intelligence of the success of his army, *malgré lui*, did not induce the King of Sicily to retrace his steps to the scene of action. An interval of four months elapsed before he returned to Italy. That period was employed by him in seeking an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy; and it does not redound to his credit that he was at this time conveniently oblivious of the murderer's confession addressed to his own ears, and that he testified no sense of degradation in the step he was taking in the bethrothal of his son Louis to Catherine, the daughter of this powerful Duke of Burgundy. This proposal being accepted, after the espousals, the young princess was consigned to the charge of Queen Yolande, to be brought up at Angers along with her future husband. This lady's dower, ten thousand crowns, was paid at the same time by Burgundy to Louis, and was of vast utility to the latter in the preparation of a new armament with which to invade the Italian shores once again. Arms, men, and ships were from that moment, by his orders, levied and prepared with the utmost dispatch in Provence; so rapidly was this expedition organised, that in a month's time, by the beginning of May, Louis actually set sail from Marseilles for Porto Pisano, with sixteen large ships and numerous smaller vessels. 1410.

* Daniel; Sismondi.

Circumstances of an unexpected nature, however interposed to convert his triumph into defeat, and to punish him with remorse for having bartered his child's and his own honour for gold.

Six of his larger vessels were, in the first place captured by the Genoese. The others arrived in safety, and disembarked the remainder of his army at Piombino; but on his arrival there, Louis was apprized that Pope Alexander V. had died at Bologna, on the 3rd of May, and that John XXIII. had been appointed his successor. He proceeded at once to Bologna. On this occasion of the arrival of Louis of Anjou with so large a force in support of the council and the papacy at so inopportune a moment, it was not unnatural that he should be met by a numerous clerical deputation. There were present twenty-two cardinals, two patriarchs, six archbishops, twenty bishops, and eighteen abbots, all handsomely equipped. Monstrelet adds to this account, that "the King of Sicily himself was clothed in scarlet, "and his horse's furniture was ornamented with small "gilt bells, and his attendants consisted of fifty knights "arrayed in uniform." On the 6th of June, Louis did homage to John XXIII. for the kingdom of Naples, but was compelled to postpone his operations until the autumn, in order to concert afresh with the new pope, and the Florentine republic.*

1411. The army of Louis of Anjou seemed formidable, for besides his Provençal troops, there were the emigrants from Naples of the Angevine party, and the companies of Braccio di Montane, of Sforza, paid by the Florentines, of Angelo de la Pergola, retained by the Siennese, and of Paul Orsini in the pay of the Pope. There was, however, a scarcity of money and ammunition, and much time was lost in reconciling the generals, who were ever readier to turn their arms against each other

* Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet.

than to unite in a common cause. At length, the Florentines having seen the Pope re-established in Rome, seceded from the compact, and made peace with Ladislaus. Louis accompanied the pontiff to Rome, determined to prosecute the war, although he had not money enough to maintain his 12,000 soldiers, the bravest warriors of Italy, during even a short campaign. He then conducted them at once to Ceperano; Ladislaus took up a position at Roccasecca, on the other side of the Garigliano, and awaited him with forces nearly equal in number. After passing the river, Louis attacked the enemy with impetuosity. It was the 19th of May, 1411, and Louis of Anjou then obtained a great victory, which went by the name of Roccasecca. Almost all the barons in the army of Ladislaus were taken prisoners, and the baggage, and even the King's table utensils fell into the hands of the conqueror. Ladislaus fled, but rallied his troops at St. Germaine. Then, strange as it may appear, the extreme poverty of Louis's soldiers caused them to sell to the large body of their prisoners both their liberty and their arms; and Ladislaus apprized of this, dispatched from St. Germaine some trumpets and money, and thus, in a few hours, he regained his army.

Louis of Anjou had indeed employed his victory to so little profit, that when he would have advanced, he found all the defiles which led to the kingdom of Naples occupied by hostile troops, while his own men were in want of the necessaries of life, a prey to sickness, and even more untractable on account of the booty they had seized. Three days after the battle of Roccasecca, Louis was compelled to retreat before Ladislaus. In the month of July he reconducted his forces to Rome, and in the following month abandoned the struggle altogether to return to France. This was

the last bold attempt of Louis II. to retrieve what he considered his hereditary and rightful possession. He never again returned to Italy.*

At the time that Louis II. was thus, for want of resources, compelled to evacuate the kingdom to which he had aspired as rightful heir, his consort, Yolande, "the Queen of the four kingdoms," was endeavouring as fruitlessly, for the same reason, to assert her more genuine rights in Spain.† On the death of her father, John of Arragon, in 1395, his brother Martin had possessed himself of the crown. Martin died in 1410, having no children; therefore the right of Yolande, as John's daughter, to one of her four kingdoms seemed incontestible. A pretender to the succession, however, appeared in the person of Don Ferdinand, Infante of Castile, the nephew of King John. The rival claims of Yolande and Ferdinand were brought before the Parliaments of the different States of Arragon. Queen Yolande appeared personally at Barcelona in defence of her rights; and the Count of Vendôme, with other ambassadors, repaired thither from Charles VI., to further her cause. These negotiations lasted three months, when the claims of Yolande failed, and Ferdinand obtained a peaceful recognition as king. The court of France was glad to procure a confirmation of their former alliance with Arragon, and Yolande was forced to content herself with the promise of 200,000 crowns in compensation, a sum afterwards reduced to 200,000 francs.‡

The last failure of Louis II. in Italy seems to have been generally considered final. In the following year,
1412. 1412, Ladislaus was duly invested with the kingdom

* Monstrelet; Sismondi; Daniel.

† Jean Michael of Beauvais, who for his talents became secretary and counsellor of Louis II., and afterwards of Queen Yolande, drew out for her a genealogy to prove her rights to the crown of Arragon.—Godard Faultrier.

‡ Daniel; Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

of Naples, and Louis returning to France, engaged in the intrigues of that court, and had soon to raise troops in Maine and Anjou to defend his own states against the attacks of the Counts of Alençon and Richmont, and the Duke of Orleans.

A change had taken place in the opinions of Louis II., and since the treaty of Bourges he had openly espoused the faction of Burgundy's enemies. Hitherto Burgundy had perhaps taken small heed of this, for his daughter Catherine, who had been affianced to Louis, eldest son of the King of Sicily, had already lived three years at Angers, and was still under the guardianship of Queen Yolande.

On the 20th of November, however, the Lady Catherine was sent back, with a good escort, to the city of Beauvais, and thence to Lille, to her father, who uttered furious imprecations at this treatment of his daughter, and took a solemn oath to be revenged upon the Duke of Anjou. He regarded this act as a deep personal insult, and his resentment continued throughout his life. It is difficult to assign the motive of Louis for this extreme proceeding, since it was not because Burgundy had been branded with the crime of murder, which had happened before these espousals were proposed.

The useless advances of the Duke of Anjou a little later, with a view to an accommodation with Burgundy, exhibited only his usual instability of purpose, and encourages the inference that the dismissal of Catherine could have arisen from no high-minded cause. It is probable that Charles VI. may have asked at that date for the hand of Louis's eldest daughter, Mary, for his third son, Charles, since their pledges were exchanged two years after. Louis, the intended of Catherine of Burgundy, was at the same time espoused to Margaret of Savoy. Poor Catherine, who was as amiable in

disposition as she was tender in years, did not long survive the ignominy of this occurrence. She died unmarried, not long after, at Ghent.*

1414. The King of France supported by his princes entered upon a campaign, in 1414, against the Duke of Burgundy; but, after some success, a recurrence of the King's malady and sickness in the camp obliged them to conclude a treaty with the rebellious duke.†

In the year 1414 died Ladislaus, Louis's successful competitor in the kingdom of Naples. His sister, Joanna II., succeeded; who, surrounded by unworthy favourites, passed her time in licentious fêtes, utterly neglectful of the cares of government. Many princes, however, sought her in marriage, and feeling the need of support, she, at length, decided in favour of Jacques de Bourbon, Count de la Marche, hoping, by an alliance with a prince of the House of France, to protect herself from a recurrence of any active pretensions on the part of Louis of Anjou.

She secured to herself an undivided monopoly of the regal power, allowing her husband only the title of Count and Governor-General of the kingdom. The marriage took place in 1415.

1415. Sismondi; L'Abbé Millot.

Soon afterwards Jacques de la Marche, not content with the semblance of power, and besides resolved to reform the manners of his wife and her court, cruelly put to death one of the Queen's favourites, and confined Joanna herself within her palace, out of the sight of her people, appointing as guard over her an old French officer. She was, however, soon rescued by the Neapolitans from this captivity and re-established in her authority, while Jacques de la Marche was, in his turn, thrown into prison.‡

* Mezerai; Bourdigné; Barante; Monstrelet; Daniel; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Bourdigné; Mezerai; Barante; Monstrelet.

‡ Sismondi; Monstrelet; Eccles. Hist.; Daniel; Mezerai; l'Abbé Millot.

The wars of Henry V. of England at this period wholly absorbed the attention of Louis II. On this invasion of France by the English, Louis joined the large army which King Charles VI. led on in person against Henry in Normandy. In the disastrous defeat which followed, Louis of Anjou was present, and must have saved himself by flight; but his relatives, Sir Robert of Bar, and Edward, Duke of Bar, who, with the Duke of Alençon commanded the main army, were numbered among the heaps of slain.

From this time little more is recorded of Louis II., whose life was drawing to a close. At this juncture he felt ill, and retired to Angers. While under this indisposition, he sought an accommodation with the Duke of Burgundy, but his overtures were treated with haughty contempt by Jean "sans Peur," whose vengeance could only be appeased by the life of the King of Sicily; nay, this was even at this period augmented by two unforeseen events: first, the death of the Dauphin making way for the next son of the King, as heir to the throne, and who was wholly Burgundian; again, by the death of the profligate old Duke of Berri in 1416. This same year a conspiracy was discovered 1416
amongst the Burgundians, affecting the lives of the Queen of France, the King of Sicily, and others; also a similar attempt was made on the life of Louis in the following year.*

The fury of the Duke of Burgundy against Louis had not yet been goaded to the utmost. On the 4th of April, 1417, his son-in-law and *protégé*, John the Dauphin, died suddenly, apparently poisoned by the Armagnacs. Again, and for the last time, the rage of Burgundy was evinced, and this branded ally of the foreign invader, this absentee from the patriot field of Agincourt, whose success in life had been achieved

* Daniel; Monstrelet; Barante; Mezerai; Villeneuve Bargemont.

by the impudence of his crimes, whose hirelings had twice attempted to assassinate the Duke of Anjou as they had of old the Duke of Orleans, had now an audacious public clamour ready to ascribe the death of the young Dauphin John to the agency of Louis II., because by that event his son-in-law became Dauphin and heir to the throne of France.

There was no real index to the author of this crime, if such it was. But, ere its authorship can be assigned for an instant, even by innuendo, to the instrumentality of Louis, some evidence of crime in his former life should at least be charged against him, and some consideration must be allowed for the well authenticated moderation and want of energy in his character; and in common justice also, some examination should be made into the respectability of his accusers. Besides, in twenty-five days after the decease of the Dauphin John, the King of Sicily himself was no more. Louis II. died in Paris, at the early age of forty, on the 29th of April, 1417.

1417. Moreri; Monstrelet.

With how much greater appearance of truth might the death of Louis have been ascribed to the machinations of the criminal Burgundy!

"This Duke of Anjou," says the annalist of Anjou, "was in great triumph and lamentable honour carried "to Angers, and interred in the cathedral, near the "great altar." Charles VI. and many of the princes of the blood were present at his funeral obsequies.

Louis II. left to his children the possession of Anjou Maine, and Provence. They also inherited his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and his hatred to the House of Burgundy.

From an engraving inserted in the Parnassus of Angers, we have a portrait of Louis II. His features were regular and imposing. He is represented with a jagged turban on his head, and in a robe of great

richness embroidered with flowers, with a cope of fur.*

Such was the father of René. He was certainly a great improvement upon the grandfather, and there was reason to hope that the race might perfect itself in the next generation.

The children of Louis II. were of a more estimable and high-minded character than their relatives who had preceded them; Louis III., René, and Mary, Queen of France, were not more distinguished by their position in life than by their virtues and excellent qualities.

Louis III. was born in 1403, and at the age of fourteen succeeded to his father's titles and estates; his mother, Yolande, undertaking the government during his minority. The nobility of Provence united their tribute of respect to the memory of Louis II. with that of the court of France, and framed an address to his successor to testify their fidelity. They also deputed some of their nobility to wait on Queen Yolande, and renew to her the oath of obedience in the name of their states. These were so graciously received by Yolande, that, it is said, she even conceded on this occasion her son's rights over Nice and the Valley of Barcelonnette, to the Count of Savoy, in liquidation of a large sum of money furnished by Amé VI. to Louis I.† 1417. Villeneuve Bargemont

The memory of Yolande is fondly cherished by the Angevines to this day, for her good works in their country. The writers of her time praise her benevolence, and the wisdom of her administration. One fact may be cited, corroborative of this view of her character.

* Moreri; Daniel; Monstrelet; Sismondi; Bourdigné Mezerai; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

The fortifications of Anjou had fallen into ruin, and required, as an imperative necessity in those days of walled cities and frequent sieges, to be almost com-
1418. pletely rebuilt, in 1418. A considerable sum was needed for this undertaking, and the people, already heavily taxed, were alarmed at the project. Yolande accordingly published an ordinance, fixing the impost of these repairs at a tenth of the tenanted value of all the houses of the city; and this, without exception even of the clergy, who were too often, through their great influence in those times, exempted from the operation of taxes which it was their duty to have borne equally.

Further, this princess authorized the people of Angers to assemble, and fix for themselves the value of their dwellings. To encourage also the citizens who usually bore alone the burden of public offices, and who might have been intimidated before the privileged classes, she caused the members of her council to preside at the meetings, in order to effect both a prompt execution of her ordinance, and to invite the free discussion of its interests

On the 10th of September, 1419, another of those great crimes occurred, which at intervals afflicted France at this period of her history. This was the foul murder of the Duke of Burgundy, upon the bridge of Montereau, where he came by appointment to ratify a treaty with the Dauphin Charles, in whose presence he was assassinated. The consequences of this base act were long after of grave import to the rival arms of France and England. Philip of Burgundy, the son and successor of John "sans Peur," had vowed ven-

* This ordinance, made by a woman, is remarkable for its wisdom; and after the lapse of more than four hundred years, it has been restored amongst the Angevines, who, in its observance, still honour the memory of Queen Yolande.—*Bodin.*

geance against the assassins of his father, and gone over directly from France with all the renowned wealth and power of his house into a close alliance with the English, and by the treaty of Troyes, in 1420, 1420.
Henry V. and his heirs were declared legal successors to the throne of France after Charles VI., to the total exclusion of the Dauphin Charles; Henry was also appointed Regent of the kingdom during the life-time of his father-in-law, Charles VI.

The Dauphin Charles thus beheld on the one hand his father, his mother, and his sister Catherine, Queen of Henry V., strenuously bringing to bear against him, the arms of France and England united; it appeared at least strange, that, on the other hand, his cousin and brother-in-law, Louis III. of Anjou, should first studiously cultivate a good understanding with his enemies respecting his French provinces, and then wholly desert his cause for the rest of his life, in order to pursue the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

Louis III. departed in the summer of the year 1420, 1420.
with a great number of warriors and a large amount of munitions of war and money, to assert anew his right to what might almost be called, the hereditary calamity of his family;* but he never returned to France. The events which led to his adoption of this course may here be briefly related.

When Martin V. had been acknowledged Pope, he concluded a treaty, in 1419, with Joanna II. of Naples, on very advantageous terms, since she was induced to flatter his nephew, Antonio Colonna, with hopes of the vacant succession to the Neapolitan throne. At his request she also released her husband, Jacques de la Marche, after a captivity of four years, and he returned to France, and died there in a convent.

* Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

Joanna was then crowned Queen of Naples in the name of Pope Martin V.; but ere long that pontiff took offence, because she did not realise his expectations in nominating his nephew her successor, and he resolved to withdraw his alliance and to second the pretensions of Louis III., Duke of Anjou, to the kingdom of Naples.*

The discontent of the nobility of Naples, and the hatred of Sforza Attendolo against his rival Caracciolo, added to the fact that there was no true heir to the crown, although Joanna was now advanced in age, seemed to prepare the way at length for the elevation of the House of Anjou.

The Queen, troubled by the contests of Sforza and Caracciolo, who, even with arms in their hands, disputed for her person, willingly gave up the former, with all his devoted followers to the Pope, and Sforza repaired to Rome. There Martin confided to him his secrets, hoping he would assist him to take revenge on Queen Joanna and her favourite Caracciolo.

It was not without some compunction that Sforza abandoned the party of Durazzo, to which he had sworn fidelity; but at this period, ambassadors from Louis III. arrived at Florence, and advancing to him considerable sums of money, engaged him in their master's service. By these means Sforza assembled a new army, and marched upon Naples. When he approached that city, he restored to Joanna his bâton of Grand Constable, declaring that, to escape from the caprice of Caracciolo, he renounced her service, and revoked his oath of fidelity. After that declaration, considering himself no longer under obligation to her, he at once proclaimed Louis III. of Anjou, King of Naples, asserting his hereditary rights, founded on the

* Monfaucon; Moreri; Sismondi; Monstrelet; l'Abbé Millot; Daniel; Godard Faultrier.

adoption of Joanna I. He then invited the Angevine barons, and all the partisans of Louis, to join his standard, and in the month of June, 1420, he invested Naples. 1420. Sismondi.

A deputation of Florentines and Genoese, with fifteen galleys, about this time entered the port of Marseilles, which then belonged to Queen Yolande. She gave permission to them, but, as we are told, "not without heavy sighs," to transport her eldest son, Louis III., to Rome, in order that he might be crowned there by the Pope. As she did not entirely confide in the loyalty of the deputation, she demanded as hostages for her son, eight of the chief nobility of Naples, who had accompanied it from that kingdom. Accordingly the young Louis embarked at Marseilles, and sailed to Rome, where the Pope solemnly invested him with the kingdom of Naples; and although not actually crowned, he ever after obtained the title of king, as his father had done. Louis brought with him to Naples an armed fleet of nine galleys and five transports, with which he arrived on the 15th of August, 1420. He immediately seized on Castellamare, while Sforza made himself master of Aversa, which was afterwards the head-quarters of the Angevine party.* 1420. Sismondi.

This new enterprise had originated with the Pope, but he now affected neutrality, and engaged Louis and Joanna to submit their rival claims to his arbitration.

To defend herself against Louis, the Queen of Naples applied to Alphonso, King of Arragon, for succour, offering to adopt him as her son, and that prince dispatched to her, eighteen galleys and three of his best generals. When these approached Naples, the fleet of Louis, being inferior in strength, retired; and the Arragonese (although opposed by Sforza,

* Sismondi; Hallam; Monstrelet.

who, with Louis, was besieging Naples) effected a landing.

Alphonso's generals were received with great honours by Joanna, who assigned them the Castello Nuovo and the Castello dell'Uovo, to hold for Alphonso, who was now proclaimed the adopted son of
1420. Sismondi. Queen Joanna II., and presumptive heir to her throne.*

Calabria and almost all the eastern boundary of the country had declared for Louis of Anjou. The feudal lords committed ravages from time to time in the territories of their enemies, but it was at the gates of Naples that the war was really carried on. There
1421. Sismondi. Alphonso appeared early in 1421, and was joined by the celebrated Braccio, who was honourably received by him, and created Prince of Capua, Count of Foggia, and Grand Constable.

No important event, however, resulted as yet from the near approach of the two hostile kings and the two great generals; and at length Louis, wearied by such inaction, returned to Pope Martin at Rome.

Braccio succeeded in seducing one of the generals of Sforza, Jacques Caldora; but another, named Tartaglia, was arrested and put to death by Sforza.†

The court of Joanna meanwhile was agitated by the secret plots of Caracciolo, who beheld with distrust the increasing power of Alphonso. Fearing for himself the fate of the other lovers of the Queen, he prevailed upon her to negotiate with Louis. Alphonso, who was not ignorant of these intrigues, resolved to secure his fortresses even against the Queen herself, while Braccio

* Sismondi; Hallam; Monfaucon; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont; l'Abbé Millot.

† Sismondi.

was intent only on extending his own principality of Capua. Sforza was fully occupied in supplying his troops at the expense of the Neapolitans, for his army was almost destroyed, and required considerable expense to restore it. Martin V. had besides now grown weary of furnishing subsidies to Louis of Anjou; and alarmed at Alphonso's threats that he would acknowledge Benedict XIII. in all his kingdoms, and thus revive the schism in the Church, he prevailed on Louis to restore to the papal dominions the cities of Aversa and Castellamare, which alone remained faithful to him, while on his part, Martin surrendered to Queen Joanna the strongholds which the Angevine party possessed in the kingdom.

Upon this Louis III. retired to Rome, to live in obscurity. The interests of the House of Anjou were still cherished in secret by Sforza, but being no longer able openly to espouse them, he was again received into the Queen's favour, and he was employed by her to oppose Alphonso.

1422. Sismondi.

The Spanish monarch soon made himself independent of Joanna, and filled the fortresses with his troops. Disgusted at beholding the Grand Seneschal ruling the states and armies of the Queen, he refused to submit, as others did, to his commands; and feeling sure of the attachment of Braccio di Montane, he resolved to assert his own claims to the throne. His intentions were perceived by Caracciolo, who, desiring to preserve the equilibrium between the rival aspirants to the throne, and for the better security of the Queen, formed a secret alliance with Sforza. Already had Joanna repented of her adoption of Alphonso; for had she chosen Louis, she would by that act have united the Houses of Durazzo and Anjou, and have ended the civil war in her kingdom.

It now became more and more evident that the

Arragonese faction was the stronger of the two, and Braccio, who supported it, was daily making new acquisitions, and at length, in 1423, his authority extended almost all round Rome, seeming to block up the pontifical court. He needed only the conquest of the Abruzzi, and this he was attempting with 3,000 horse and 1,000 infantry. Martin V. beheld his increasing power with dismay, and exhorted and encouraged the people of Aquila to defend him. He next sought the protection of Queen Joanna for the besieged, and endeavoured to persuade her to deprive Braccio of his command.*

1423. Sismondi.

1423. Sismond

The unexpected arrest of Caracciolo by Alphonso occurred on the 22nd of May, 1423, which gave reason to believe that the arrest of the Queen was likewise intended, had not her guards prevented it. Joanna, finding herself besieged in the Capuan castle, sent for Sforza, who hastened to deliver her, and a pitched battle ensued, which lasted six hours, with equal intrepidity on either side. At length Sforza triumphed, and Alphonso was in his turn besieged in the Castello Nuovo.

A fleet from Catalonia soon brought a considerable military armament for the relief of Alphonso; and Sforza, unable to prevent the landing of this force, was obliged to conduct the Queen from Naples to Aversa.† Queen Joanna, while separated from Caracciolo, had abandoned herself to despair, and would have resigned even her crown to procure the freedom of her lover. His liberation was effected without loss of time, and twenty of the most distinguished of the prisoners taken at the late battle of Formelles were exchanged for the Seneschal.

From this time the Queen resolved to look for

* Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

† Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; l'Abbé Millot.

defence to the party of the Angevines. She invited Louis III., who resided still in poverty at Rome, to repair to her at Aversa, and wrote to the different courts of Europe to make known the ingratitude of Alphonso, to revoke her adoption of him and to substitute in his place Louis III., Duke of Anjou, whom she declared Duke of Calabria and presumptive heir to the throne. She even permitted him the title of king, that he might not be inferior in dignity to his rival.*

It is not a little to the credit of Louis III. at the early age of twenty-one, that his naturally mild character, perhaps further modified by the ordeal of his previous misfortunes, never allowed him, when he had grown powerful again, to raise his pretensions beyond that which Queen Joanna willingly granted him.

The Pope supplied him with such troops as he had at command, and at their head he repaired to Naples, in obedience to the summons of the Queen. The Genoese and the Duke of Milan also furnished him with soldiers, and thus Louis was soon enabled to retake all that the ambitious Alphonso had gained in the kingdom; and he preserved these acquisitions till his death. He remained but a short time at the court of Queen Joanna, and then withdrew into Calabria, where the mildness of his administration and his amiability made him beloved by all his subjects.†

Alphonso, alarmed at the combination formed against him, returned to Catalonia, leaving his brother, Don Pedro, at Naples, with some Italian condottieri. In his passage he surprised Marseilles, and pillaged it, to

1423. Sismondi.

* Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; Moreri; Hallam; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; l'Abbé Millot.

† Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

revenge himself on Louis of Anjou. Enriched with the spoils of that city he proceeded to Spain, carrying off the body of Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, his relative.*

1424. Sismondi. The following year witnessed the death of the two hostile generals, Sforza and Braccio di Montane. The former was succeeded, both in the army and in the Queen's favour, by his son, Francesco Sforza. The principality of Braccio was destroyed on the death of that general.

Of the generals left in support of Don Pedro, one went over to Braccio, and another, the notorious betrayer, Jacques Caldora, once more changed sides, first entering into treaty with his enemies, and then opening to them the gates of Naples.

On its return to the capital the Queen's army exercised no cruelties towards the inhabitants, and Caracciolo, now once more in the enjoyment of the supreme power, would not suffer the siege of Don Pedro and his small force shut up in the Castello Nuovo, in the politic intent of retaining Louis III. in submission through fear of his rival. Louis became, however, at this time virtually as well as in name, King of Naples; during the life time of Queen Joanna, he had, in fact, won more than his father or his grandfather in that kingdom, since his inheritance was no longer actively disputed.†

As Caracciolo advanced in age, the passion of love, to which he owed his elevation, gave place to ambition. In his sixtieth year he continued to rule the Queen, whose passion had made her his slave, and he was never satiated with power, riches, and honours. His demands became exorbitant, and excited the jealousy of the courtiers. At length Joanna, distressed by his importunity, to console herself, admitted to her confi-

* Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; l'Abbé Millot. † Sismondi.

dence the Duchess of Suessa. Through the instigations of this lady, the Queen gave orders for the arrest of Caracciolo, and her servants, exceeding her commands, murdered him.* 1432. Sismondi.

Louis III. had been suffered to reside at Cosenza, in Calabria, an exile from the court of Queen Joanna, in order that she might without restraint resign herself and the government of her kingdom, into the power of Caracciolo.

When, therefore, Louis was apprized of the death of the Grand Seneschal, he flattered himself that he should be recalled to court, and at last enjoy the prerogatives of the presumptive heir to the throne. It was not so, however, for the Duchess of Suessa, who now in her turn became desirous of maintaining the sole influence over the Queen's mind, would not suffer his return. In fact, Joanna, incapable of having a will of her own, was from this time governed by her *confidante* as she had formerly been by her lover.†

Louis did not resist the intrigues of the court; he was content to live in Calabria. He had been united on the 22nd of July, 1431, to Margaret, the daughter of Amé VIII., first Duke of Savoy, and this princess came to him at Cosenza in the year 1434. On her progress thither, she rested at Bâle, where the Diet was then being held, and where the King of France was receiving various high personages. 1434. Villeneuve Bargemont.

"The King treated her very courteously," adds the historian, "and came after supper, and after that the "said Princess had made reverence to the King, they "danced a long time, and afterwards they brought spices "and served the King," &c. After the entertainment, Princess Margaret took her leave of King Charles, and was received at Avignon with much liberality by the

* Sismondi. † Hallam; Sismondi.

Cardinal de Foix, the Pope's vicar. Thence she journeyed to Tarascon, where she was lodged in the fine old castle which was now her property. The Governor and chief nobility of Provence welcomed her there, and provided her with 50,000 florins, while each town presented to her a vessel of gold or silver; and a grand fête was given in her honour which lasted three days. She then went with her attendants on board her galleys on the Rhone. On leaving Nice a furious tempest arose, but they succeeded in reaching Sorento in safety; the Princess, however, having been much indisposed by the passage.

At first, Queen Joanna wished her to come to Naples with her husband, Louis of Anjou, in order that they might there receive the honours due to their rank; but she was again dissuaded by the Duchess of Suessa from inviting them, and contented herself with making some presents to Princess Margaret, who proceeded to Cosenza.*

Louis III. did not long enjoy the sweets of wedlock and the genuine attachment of his people. Ever obedient to the caprices of the Queen of Naples, he undertook, by her command, in the year 1434, a war which he considered to be unjust.

He was required to reduce the most powerful of the Neapolitan feudal lords, Giovanni Autorico Orsini, whom the Queen's favourites desired to despoil of his wealth. Orsini was in danger of losing all his estates, when besieged in Tarentum by Louis of Anjou and Jacques Caldora.

Suddenly these proceedings were arrested by an attack of fever; and Louis III., like his grandfather Louis I., was cut short in the midst of his career by

* Moreri; Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont; Mezerai; Monfaucon; Rapin; Monstrelet.

this virulent malady, of which he died on the 15th of November, 1434, in the thirty-first year of his age.* 1434.

This prince left no children by his wife, Margaret of Savoy. His remains were interred at Cosenza, in Calabria, excepting only his heart, which was deposited in the Cathedral at Angers, the sepulchre of his ancestors.† By his extreme mildness of character, Louis III. had won the affection of all who surrounded him. He had lived long amongst the Calabrians, and in his person commenced a genuine and firm attachment on their part to the House of Anjou, which never failed during the civil wars that succeeded.‡

The condescension of Louis, it may be said, even amounted to a weakness, in having surrendered Queen Joanna to her bad counsellors. For to his long exile from the Neapolitan court must be attributed, in some degree, the loss to his family of the rights he had acquired by his adoption, as well as the long wars, which, after his death, once again devastated the kingdom.§ His death was generally and deeply regretted: it is even said, that his enemies shed tears for the loss of one so respected for his amiability in private life, and so justly celebrated, considering his years, for his talents as a military commander. The Queen of Naples especially, seemed to be inconsolable at his death.

It is pleasing to observe, that amidst the wars with the English and the expeditions to Naples, the attention of Louis III. and of his mother Yolande, who was the practical ruler of Anjou during his absence, had been nevertheless directed towards an establishment of

* Sismondi; Monfaucon; Moreri; Eccles. Hist.; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Sismondi. § Sismondi.

lasting utility to the people of that province. Until that period, degrees in the law only could be conferred by the University of Angers; but, through their united solicitations, it acquired from Pope Eugene IV., the right of completing its studies by the addition of the three new faculties of medicine, theology, and the *belles lettres.*

1434. Godard Faultrier. At the request of Yolande also, on the death of her son Louis III. in 1434, Charles VII. granted to his mother-in-law, letters patent for conferring degrees in all four of these branches of public instruction.*

1435. Sismondi. Queen Joanna herself died in the ensuing year, 1435, in her sixty-fifth year. All her recent efforts had been consistently directed towards ensuring the succession of Louis III., and his premature death did not change her project regarding his family. Shortly before she died, she executed a will, nominating as her heir to the kingdom of Naples, René, Duke of Anjou, the brother of Louis III. This testament was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the people, who were then so devoted to the memory of Louis, that they felt a gratification in declaring themselves for his untried and unknown successor, René of Anjou.

To maintain her people in their fidelity to this prince, Queen Joanna left behind her a treasure of 500,000 ducats. She also appointed a Council of Regency, composed of sixteen lords chosen by herself; and with these were associated twenty deputies selected from the nobility and people. By these lords an embassy was dispatched to their new monarch, inviting him to come to Naples, and take possession of the kingdom.†

* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Sismondi; Bodin; Moreri; Eccles. Hist.,; l'Abbé Millot; Godard Faultrier; Hallam.

Joanna II., following the example of her brother Ladislaus, had assumed the title of Queen of Rome. She was the last individual of the "First House" of Anjou.*

* l'Abbé Millot.

THE

LIFE OF

MARGARET OF ANJOU,

QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

WITH

A MEMOIR OF HER FATHER,

RENÉ "THE GOOD,"

KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM.

MARGARET OF ANJOU.

CHAPTER I.

"He is a king, that in himself doth reign;
"And never feareth fortune's hott'st alarms,
"That bears against them patience for his arms."—DRAYTON.

René's birth—Infancy—Education—Adoption by the Cardinal of Bar—René's tastes—His first campaign—His marriage proposed—Death of John "Sans Peur"—The Cardinal and the Duke of Lorraine institute René heir to their duchies—The Duke of Berg's enterprise—René's marriage—The Count de Vaudemont's threats—Siege of Metz—René joins King Charles VII.—Successes of René—Death of the Cardinal of Bar—The Duke of Lorraine dies—René acknowledged by the States of Lorraine and Bar—The Battle of Bulgneville—René taken prisoner—He is released on his parole—The decision of the Emperor Sigismond—Fêtes in Lorraine—René returns to his prison—Death of Louis III.—Queen Joanna dies—She appoints René her successor—René sends his Queen, Isabella, into Provence and to Naples.

THE second son of Louis II., Duke of Anjou, and of Yolande of Arragon, was René,* called "the Good" and also "the merry monarch," from his fondness for the tournament, which was so peculiarly the taste of the age in which he lived. This prince was born on the 16th of January, 1408, in the noble Castle of Angers, situated on the banks of the Mayenne. This castle was erected by St. Louis in the thirteenth century, on a perpendicular rock.† The lofty, massive

1408. Morcii; Bodin.

* René has been variously called Renueit, Rheneit, Regné, Regnier, Reyné, and Reygnière.

† The palace was situated between the two towers, called "du Moulin" and "du Diable," the first having supported a windmill, and the last being so named from its vicinity to the fearful "Oubliette" into which criminals were thrown alive. The palace has fallen into ruins, but that portion of it, said to have been the birthplace of René, has been converted into a prison, and is ornamented by gun turrets.

walls and circular towers, eighteen in number, with the deep moat and two drawbridges leading to its Gothic and machicolated portals, gave it a truly imposing character. Within these barriers stood the ancient ducal palace, the residence of the Angevine princes, and at this time inhabited by Queen Yolande, who evinced a strong attachment to Angers and its vicinity.

The winter of 1408 was one of the most remarkable for its severity ever recorded in history. The Danube was frozen over, and Provence suffered extremely from a continued frost, but its inhabitants rejoiced greatly on the birth of the young prince, as though they anticipated the fortuitous events which would pave the way for his exaltation, or entertained a secret presentiment of the permanent affection which would hereafter be felt for them by their future sovereign.

It was while René was yet in his cradle that those dissensions originated, which during his whole life prevailed throughout France. The civil warfare which they caused,* added to the invasions of foreign armies and the desolation consequent on the victories of the English, reduced this kingdom† to a deplorable condition, which has been aptly depicted by the annalists of that period.

We are not informed who undertook the sacred charge of sponsorship at the baptismal font for René; but he received his name, a very uncommon one before his time, in memory of the holy bishop, St. René, much respected by the people of Angers, and who, according to a pious tradition, was resuscitated at the end of seven years, whence he was called Re-né, or twice born.‡ The title of Count of Piemont had been be-

* Just before the birth of René occurred one of those prominent events in the history of that kingdom which paved the way for its misery, viz., the cruel murder of the Duke of Orleans by John "Sans Peur," Duke of Burgundy.

† Moreri; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet. Biographie Universelle.

‡ On the banks of the Loire, in a charming situation, stands the Château

stowed upon René at his birth. The care of his infancy was entrusted by his mother, Queen Yolande, to a virtuous nurse named Theophaine la Magine, who was a native of Saumur, and had already fulfilled the same duty for his sister Mary. The solicitude of this poor woman was ever after remembered by her foster-children, who did not neglect her in after life, but loaded her with benefits, and evinced their gratitude for her tenderness and care.* The infancy of René passed under the eye of his mother and her ladies at Angers,

de la Possonnière, and near it the ruins of another more ancient edifice, with the Chapel of St. René. St. René has been cherished among the pious Angevins, though forgotten by the world; and the history and miraculous legend of this saint are too important in the annals of Anjou to be passed over in silence. St. René was born near the end of the fourth century, in the villa of Possonnière, of illustrious parents. He preached some time at Chalon, and on the death of St. Maurille, was elected Bishop of Angers. After filling this office twenty-two years, he went to Rome, and thence repaired to Sorento, where his fame caused him to be advanced to the dignity of bishop. He died at this place in the year 450; and his remains being claimed by the Angevins, were conveyed into Anjou, and deposited, first in the Church of St. Morille, and finally in St. Maurice, at Angers. The shrine of St. René has been much celebrated. Leo X., in 1513, and Clement VII., in 1533, granted edicts in favour of the institution of the brotherhood of St. René, whose members of both sexes then amounted to more than 7,000. Some of the kings of France inscribed their names at the shrine of this saint, amongst whom were Louis XII. and Henry III.

The legend of his second birth runs thus:—"The parents of St. René having no offspring, addressed themselves to St. Maurille, the Bishop of Angers, promising to dedicate to God their first-born. Bononia became a mother, but her joy was transient;—her son, being carried into the Cathedral of Angers, died before his baptism. After this event St. Maurille went into Britain, and after an exile of seven years returned to Angers. The illustrious lady of Possonnière then besought this bishop to restore her dead son. St. Maurille approached the tomb—caused the stone to be raised—sprinkled it with holy water—and then, throwing himself on the ground in an attitude of devotion, he offered up aloud his supplication, upon which the tomb opened and the child was restored to the world and baptized. This miracle may be doubted by many, but the existence and episcopacy of St. René are not to be contested. The legend passed through the Middle Ages, and even in these times, the country people may be seen carrying a banner over their heads while descending the hills or passing the Loire on their way to the Chapel of Possonnière to implore the aid of St. René. It is a pretty sight this march of young mothers, some praying for deliverance, others offering their newly born." One author adds, "it is remarkable that the people of Angers, our ancestors, have had a great veneration for mothers and children."—*Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.*

* René even composed her epitaph, which still may be seen on one of the

and in occasionally visiting the French court, where Louis II. chiefly resided. In his early years the Count de Piemont is described as "remarkable amongst the children of his years, for an agreeable figure, a sweet, intellectual and precocious disposition, and great aptitude to learn."

The father of René, Louis II., in the year 1409, engaged in a new expedition into Italy, to regain the kingdom of Naples. He returned, however, the same year to Provence, where he was rejoined by Queen Yolande and her three children. The object of this journey was to gain plenary indulgences, granted to the ancient abbey of Mont-Major; the pilgrims of both sexes, who, together with the Duke of Anjou and his family, resorted thither on this occasion, amounted to 150,000 persons.*

When he had attained his seventh year René passed from the control of the women of Queen Yolande into

pillars in the Church of Notre Dame de Nantilly, at Saumur. On a block of stone is the following inscription:—

"Cy gist la nourrice Theophaine
"La Magine, qui ot grant paine
"A nourrir de let en enfance
"Marie d'Anjou, royne de France
"Et apres son frère René
"Duc d'Anjou, et depuis nommé
"Comme encore Roy de Sicile
"Qui a voulu en cette ville
"Pour grant amour de nourreture.
"Faire faire la sépulture
"De la nourrice dessus dicte
"Qui à Dieu rendit l'âme quiete
"Pour avoir grace.et tout deduit
"Mil cccc. cinquante et huit
"Ou moys de Mars XIII. jour
"Je vous pry tous par bon amour
"Affin qu'elle ait ung pou du vôtre
"Donnez-lui ugne patenôtre."

Beneath this epitaph, which was anciently in the choir, on a stone monument was represented Theophaine reclining, and holding in her arms her two foster-children, Mary and René of Anjou. The verses remained entire, in the year 1840; but the monument was destroyed in the civil wars of the sixteenth century.—*Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.*

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

the hands of the men; and although the heir of a sovereignty, he was, like the son of a private gentleman, submitted to the guidance of certain old barons and knights of high reputation and experience, under whose instructions, enforced by noble examples, a manly and severe education succeeded to the tenderness of maternal care. The effeminate games of childhood also gave place to violent and painful, and sometimes dangerous exercises. It was thus that the youth of that period were inured, even in the bosom of the palace or castle, to the fatigues and perils of war.*

It was about this time, upon the occasion of Queen Yolande's visit to the capital with her little son, that the good disposition and extraordinary application to study evinced by René first attracted the attention of his uncle Louis, Cardinal of Bar, who began, when his pupil was only seven years of age, to direct his studies. He had frequent opportunities of observing his character, and delighted to behold in him those inestimable gifts with which nature had endowed him, and which his parents had most assiduously cultivated. It was indeed to these that René owed the unexpected change in his destiny which the notice of the Cardinal procured him, and which paved the way to his subsequent distinction. Being only the second son of the King of Sicily, René had no hopes of any inheritance beyond the title of Count of Guise. It was not, however, his fortune to be throughout life only a titular prince; yet, while seeming to delight in overwhelming him with unlooked-for favours, this same fortune granted him not one of these without subjecting him to some new adversity.†

1415. Godard Faultrier.

The relationship of the Cardinal of Bar to René was

* Godard Faultrier.

† Dom Calmet; Bodin; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont, Godard Faultrier.

that of great-uncle on the maternal side. He was fourth son to Sir Robert of Bar and Mary, daughter of John, King of France. Sir Robert, who was both learned and valiant, died in 1411, and having lost his two eldest sons, he bequeathed the duchy of Bar and castlewick of Cassel to his third son Edward, Marquis of Pont. This duke, with a younger brother John, lord of Puissage, and Robert their nephew, Count of Marle and Soissons, all three perished on the field of Agincourt; and thus the Cardinal became sovereign of Bar, although this inheritance was claimed by his sister Yolande, Queen of Arragon, and their dispute only terminated in 1419, when the Cardinal gave up his rights in favour of René of Anjou. After the death of so many relatives, the Cardinal, seeing his name about to be extinguished, and having already felt some affection for René, gave him the preference over his other nephews; and, as his attachment increased, he took upon himself the charge of his education, under the *surveillance* of Jean of Proissy, to whom René had been entrusted by his mother Yolande.*

Prelates of the fifteenth century lived like sovereigns within their own dioceses with great magnificence. They did not always find the thunders of the Church sufficient to defend their temporal rights, and were sometimes obliged, as Monstrelet tells us, "to carry a helmet for a mitre, a breastplate instead of a cope, and for a cross of gold, a battle-axe." The breviary was not more familiar to them than the sword, and Louis of Bar, surrounded by examples of glory, had, as it were, imbibed in his infancy the hereditary valour of his race, while at the same time he possessed in the highest degree the virtues which honour the Church. He united to the most extensive information a taste for literature; and his love for the arts, of which he was

* Dom Calmet; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

the enlightened protector, induced him to extend his munificence to most of the artists of his time, whom he attracted to him, either to the old palace of Bar or to Paris, where he often prolonged his stay.

It may be presumed that this prince neglected no means to perfect the rising talents of his pupil, and it is probable that in these visits which they made together to the French court, René received his lessons in drawing and painting of the brothers Hubert and John Van Eyck. The latter, better known by the name of John of Bruges, had passed great part of his youth near Charles V., who had conferred on him many favours. It is believed that it was to these celebrated masters, or to their pupils, that René was indebted for his first instructions in an art which he constantly loved, and cultivated at all periods of his life.

It is in childhood, when the imagination is susceptible and the senses are awake to every impression made on them by external objects, that the strongest tastes are formed, and the outlines of future character are observable.

René's taste for painting was not more surprising than his inclination to engage in all that related to chivalry.

In the Middle Ages the institutions of chivalry formed the best school for honour and moral discipline, and were very influential in promoting intellectual improvement. Hallam, who has so ably written of these times, says, "Chivalry preserved an exquisite sense of honour as effective in its great results, as the spirit of liberty and religion on the moral sentiments and energies of mankind."

There were notwithstanding amongst the members of the chivalrous orders, many individuals more conspicuous for their vices than for the virtues they professed.

At the same time that René was taking his first lessons in the art of drawing, he probably beheld the commencement of a chivalric institution, in which no doubt, although so young, he was permitted to take some part. This was the "Order of Fidelity" which Thiebaut, the fifth Count of Blamont, desired to found; but of which, in order to confer *éclat* and durability, the Duke of Bar was declared the supreme chief. It was at Bar that this order was recognised, on the 31st of May, 1416. Forty knights of Lorraine, some of them very young, were associated together during five years, bound by oath in love and unity to support one another in every reverse of good or bad fortune.* It may be well to notice here, that one of these knights who thus pledged himself with others, was Robert de Sarrebruche, called the Damoisel de Commercy, afterwards much distinguished by the frequent violation of his engagements to René.

Time was rapidly passing with the young pupil while occupied in his new exercises and delightful employments. He had just entered his ninth year when his father, the King of Sicily, died. On being informed of his dangerous condition, René hastened to him, and received his last farewell. He then beheld the tender interview between this dying monarch and his son-in-law, Charles VII., who was counselled by him especially "never to trust the Duke of Burgundy, but to employ every means to keep on good terms with the formidable John 'Sans Peur.'" It had been well for Charles had he obeyed these counsels.

1417. Rapin.

René, who became by his father's will, Count of Guise, continued to reside with the Cardinal. By his happy disposition and attractive qualities, he so far confirmed the good opinion of his patron, that he began to regard him truly in the light of a son, and

* Dom Calmet; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

did not hesitate to name him as his heir in the duchy of Bar. He initiated him in the affairs of his state, and associated him in all the acts of his government. He even desired that René should be considered by his subjects as their future sovereign. In 1418, this young prince first acted in concert with his uncle in the government, and addressed letters in his own name to the different officers of Barrois.*

At this time the greater part of Lorraine was infested by brigands, deserters, and vagrants, who upon being repulsed from the interior of the kingdom, and from the fortified cities, dispersed themselves towards the provinces on the borders, where they pillaged, committed murders and all kinds of violence. Such were the sad results of the long wars which had desolated France. More than once the Cardinal of Bar had been compelled to take up arms, and go in person to defend his states; but he resolved at length to put an end to these evils by forming a league with Conrad Bayer de Boppart, Bishop of Metz, another martial prelate like himself. They attacked together several lords, who were even more culpable than the brigands themselves, inasmuch as they had sheltered them from justice in order to profit by their plunder. René of Anjou accompanied his uncle in this rapid expedition which might be said to be the first campaign of this young prince, and it proved successful.† 1418. Villeneuve Bargemont.

Discussions were at this time entered into between the States of Lorraine and Bar. Their proximity to each other caused their interests sometimes to clash, and involved them in dissensions and bloodshed. A furious war had been recommenced in 1414, under

* Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

Edward, Duke of Bar, which had brought destruction by fire and sword on these unhappy states. Two years later a treaty was concluded between them; but they were again apprehending a speedy rupture, when the Cardinal of Bar proposed a means of establishing peace between these duchies on a solid basis.

After nominating René of Anjou to succeed him in his own states, the Cardinal did not rest here, but further evinced his solicitude and the interest he took in his welfare, which, added to political considerations, induced him to propose an alliance between his young relative and Isabella, the daughter and heiress of Charles II., Duke of Lorraine, and Margaret of Bavaria. Thus he hoped to form a lasting union between the States of Bar and Lorraine, and to restore unanimity and peace.*

It might naturally have been expected that much opposition would have been raised to this marriage, although many lords of Lorraine openly expressed their desire that it should take place.

Charles II. had been a long time devoted to the Duke of Burgundy, who had in a manner protected him in his youth. His consort, Margaret of Bavaria, was a near relative of the Duchess of Burgundy; and besides that, he had entertained a personal enmity against the princes of the blood, and was at variance with the Duke of Orleans at the time of his death.† Great manœuvring was required to negotiate for the hand of this duke's daughter, since it was on the part of an Angevine prince, but the Cardinal triumphed over all obstacles; Duke Charles readily consented to the marriage, and appointed an interview with him on

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet; Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle.

† Duke Charles of Lorraine had in his will, made in 1408, even forbidden that his eldest daughter should be united to a prince of the House of France.

the subject. They repaired to the Castle of Foug, near Toul, which belonged to the Cardinal, on the 20th of March, 1418; and it is remarkable that Charles of Lorraine, besides the lords of his court, should have brought with him Antoine de Vaudemont, his nephew, to countenance by his presence the articles of this marriage, since he ultimately became the most powerful opponent of René. 1418. Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

The Cardinal was accompanied by his young *protégé*, of whom it was said, that his prepossessing appearance, his courage, of which he had already given proof, and his rising reputation charmed the Duke, and contributed, as much as policy, in deciding him to bestow on him the hand of his daughter. The agreement * was then entered into by the two princes.

It had been previously decided that the Duke of Lorraine should have the control of the person of René until he had attained his fifteenth year; that on that same day the parties should be betrothed, and that on the following day the marriage ceremony should take place.†

At the time that the articles of this marriage were published in Lorraine, and when the nobles were joyfully taking their oaths, another assassination occurred which struck consternation throughout France. This was the murder of John "Sans Peur," Duke of Burgundy, in open day, on the bridge of Montereau, on the 10th of September, 1419. 1419. Villeneuve Bargemont.

It might have been apprehended that Philip, the

* This agreement states,—

1stly. That on the day of Pentecost, 1419, the Count of Guise should return from his journey into Anjou, the object of which would be to obtain the consent of his mother.

2ndly. That he should repair to Bar, where the Duke of Lorraine would meet him, to arrange the conditions of the marriage.

3rdly. That they should then fix the period when René should be conducted to Nanci, and cease to reside with his uncle, that he might be entirely under the *surveillance* of his future father-in-law.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle.

next heir to the Burgundian States, would seek to revenge his father's death on all the members of the Angevine family; but happily this was not the case, for although he vowed eternal enmity against the Dauphin (who was suspected to have commanded the criminal act), he had not the injustice to involve others indiscriminately. He did not, therefore, offer any opposition to the alliance which the Duke of Lorraine was about to make with the brother-in-law of one, whom he regarded as his father's assassin, but received with favour the ambassadors sent by that prince to condole with him on his misfortune.*

Profiting by this unexpected kindness, and fearing that other difficulties might arise, the Cardinal of Bar immediately passed an act to confirm the adoption of René, and his resignation to him of the duchy of Bar and the Marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson,† conditionally on his taking the name and arms of Bar.‡ This act was passed at St. Mihiel, on the 13th of August, 1419, and the treaty of marriage, agreed upon the preceding year, was then also ratified.§

The dower of Isabella was fixed at 5,000 livres annually, or 4,000 only in the event of Duke Charles having a male heir to succeed him in Lorraine. This

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† The Marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson appears to have comprehended St. Mihiel, Briey, Longwy, Marville, Saucy, Stenay, Longuyon, Foug, Pierrefort, Condé-sur-Moselle, and l'Avantgarde.

‡ In the shield of the complete arms of Bar, René was allowed to carry a small escutcheon with the arms of Anjou.

§ The historian of Lorraine informs us that King Henry V. of England having demanded the hand of Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI., for himself, hearing that the Duke of Burgundy was reconciled to the French king, feared that this would re-unite the forces of France, and oblige him to abandon his conquests in that kingdom. He, therefore, applied to the Duke of Lorraine, and asked his daughter Isabella in marriage for his brother the Duke of Bedford, hoping by this alliance to unite Duke Charles in his interests, and place France between two fires. It is, however, surprising that Henry V. was ignorant that the Duke of Lorraine had already contracted his daughter to René of Anjou, in March, 1418.

princess had, besides, the sum of 40,000 livres, ready money.

All the States of Barrois had been convoked upon this occasion. The sister of the Cardinal, Bonne of Bar, was also present. She was the wife of Valeran of Luxembourg. The Count of Ligny was also there, besides Jean of Sarrebruche, Bishop of Verdun, and the three abbots of St. Mihiel, La Chalade, and Lisle en Barrois. The same day the Cardinal and the Duke of Lorraine mutually engaged to appoint René and Isabella as their heirs; and they obliged all their vassals to take oath to acknowledge them as their legitimate sovereigns after their death.* When these arrangements were confirmed on both sides, Yolande of Arragon, called by the chroniclers "La belle Reinne de Sicile," conducted her son to his uncle, to whom she had already sent Mansard de Sue, bailiff of Vitry, to signify her willingness to take the name and the arms of Bar. The Cardinal then prepared to conduct his young nephew to Nanci, there to entrust him to the care of the Duke of Lorraine, when an unforeseen obstacle occasioned a delay equally fruitless and unexpected.

Arnould, Duke of Berg, the husband of Mary of Bar, a sister of the Cardinal, had entertained secret pretensions to the duchy of Bar, and had even been eager to make it known immediately after the battle of Agincourt; but repulsed by the energetic measures of Duke Edward, he had continued at peace until René became the declared heir to this duchy, when, aroused by the feeling that this adoption would annihilate for ever his own claims, his disappointed ambition stimulated him to a new enterprise. Assembling his troops he advanced with rapid strides, and attacked the forces of the Cardinal; but no sooner did that

* Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

prelate appear, with René, in arms against him, than he was defeated in a pitched battle, and taken prisoner.

Rejoicing in their success, the Cardinal and his nephew then proceeded to the capital of Lorraine, where the nobles of the two duchies came, to ratify solemnly the promises and conditions stipulated in the contract of St. Mihiel. So great was the satisfaction universally expressed on witnessing the cordial affection which existed between the betrothed, that Duke Charles could no longer defer the marriage, notwithstanding the youth of the affianced, René being only twelve years and nine months old, and his consort still a child.

Isabella, who was born in 1410, has been described as being at the time of her nuptials, tall in person, and possessing regular and uncommonly beautiful features. To a mind above her age she united strength of character; and the gentle piety of her mother, Margaret of Bavaria, seemed to have been transmitted to her as a precious inheritance.

René was equally remarkable among the young lords of Lorraine. He was distinguished by an open physiognomy, and large eyes "à fleur de tête;" he was fair and fresh coloured, and his amiable manners attracted the attentions of the ladies, and had already rendered him dear to his young betrothed.†

Henri de Ville, Bishop of Toul, a worthy prelate and a relative of the Duke of Lorraine, was chosen to officiate as priest at this marriage, which was celebrated on the 14th ‡ of October, 1420, in the Castle of Nanci, with the greatest pomp which could be displayed; and as one author tells us, amidst a joy which

1420. Moreri.

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

‡ The 14th of October in the MS. prayer book of King René.

seemed to approach delirium. The same rejoicings prevailed throughout Barrois upon this union, formed under such happy auspices; and it was generally regarded as the means of annihilating former animosities and divisions, and of restoring that happiness which had long been banished from every heart.*

Few events rendered the early years of René's wedded life remarkable. During this period of happiness, his leisure was devoted to his studies; indeed after their marriage the young bride and bridegroom continued both in their own way to pursue their education, which they completed under the active *surveillance* of Margaret of Bavaria, Charles of Lorraine, and the Cardinal of Bar, three notable characters of that age; of whom the two former were so peculiar as to claim especial notice.

Margaret of Bavaria, the mother of Isabella, was the daughter of the Emperor Rupert, and one of the most virtuous princesses of her time. She lived in such complete retirement at her palace at Nanci that she was almost a stranger to the pleasures of her court, and occupied herself in works of benevolence and in founding pious establishments. Her life has been written in Latin by her confessor, Adolphus de Cirque, a Chartreux. He says, "she lived an austere life, chastising herself with fasting and wearing sackcloth," and he relates of her, that, "having found a little book entitled "La Rosaire Evangelique," containing the life of Our Saviour and of the Holy Virgin, this princess was so deeply touched by it that it was continually in her hands. The Almighty, by this means, poured so much blessing on her soul, that she became a model of every virtue. He bestowed upon her also some miraculous gifts, and even granted her several

* Moreri; Bodin; Monfaucon; Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier.

victories in her husband's favour. Of these, not only the people of Lorraine, but also foreigners and the Duke's enemies, bore witness. Upon one occasion the Duchess, while the combat lasted, caused public prayers to be offered in the city, and ordered a solemn procession, at which she assisted barefooted, and with tears implored the succour of heaven for her husband's cause. After the battle of Champigneules, the vanquished prince acknowledged that the victory was not owing so much to the valour of Duke Charles, as to the Duchess Margaret, who had appeared at the head of the army with a brilliancy that their eyes could not endure. This occurred a second time under other circumstances; and the enemy, who were put to flight, afterwards declared that they had been terrified, and unable to support the presence of this princess whom they had beheld at the head of the army of Lorraine." When asked by her confessor if she had been present at the battle, the Duchess replied, "That it would not have become either her sex, or her condition; but that she had addressed her prayers to Jesus Christ, imploring the protection of her subjects." Her prayers were always—"Lord, thy will be done and not mine;" and she never asked of God either the death or captivity of her enemies.

We shall be less surprised at the influence which this extraordinary woman held over the minds of the people, when we contemplate her exceeding piety. Such was the self-control she had obtained that her humility, patience, temperance, disinterestedness, and charity were unequalled. She visited the hospitals with her ladies, and personally waited on the sick, and dressed their wounds. By her means several sick persons were restored to health; and when this became publicly known, the afflicted ones were brought from afar to the gates of her palace, that

as she passed them on her way to church, she might bestow upon them her blessing. Many of these were cured; but the Duchess declared that she could do nothing for those who remained in their sins, or wanted faith, or who placed greater confidence in the art of medicine than in the goodness of God.

The Duchess took great care of her servants; nor would she allow her daughters to remain in idleness, but set them herself an example of useful occupation. On fast days and Sundays she gave them instruction in the scriptures, conducted them to church and to the Lord's table. Her mornings were all spent in devotion, her afternoons in the care of her household and attendance on the poor. She confessed herself daily, took the holy sacrament every feast day and Sunday, and submitted her body to a severe scourging when the Duke, her husband, was absent. Such was the austere life of Margaret of Bavaria.

The Duke of Lorraine, on the contrary, was not very devout. He did not attribute the advantages he obtained to his wife's merits, and still less to his own; but to the prayers of the good people who prayed for him. The Duchess, however, was somewhat afflicted at the temporal prosperities enjoyed by Lorraine, fearing that God might reward her during her life for the little good she did, and deprive her in eternity of that bliss which was her only ambition.

Charles of Lorraine had no taste for solitude, and his capital became, during his reign, the centre of the most brilliant fêtes. The Duke was one of the most polished and intellectual princes of his time, although naturally of a warlike disposition and educated in the battle-field. That portion of his time which was not employed in war, or in the gratification of his passions, he devoted to literature. He was particularly fond of

history, and it was said of him that he never passed a single day without reading some chapters of Livy or of Cæsar's Commentaries, his favourite authors, which he took with him on all his expeditions. Often, in speaking of himself, he would say that, "in comparison with Cæsar, he seemed to be only an apprentice in the art of war."

It may be inferred that this prince did not fail to encourage his pupil René in the love of study, and from the period of his first visit to his court also may have originated the taste and talents of René for music, a science in which Duke Charles delighted. He was always surrounded by the most eminent musicians of the day, and evinced his own love for music by playing skilfully on several instruments.* We are informed that René was engaged alternately at the courts of Lorraine and Bar in the cultivation of music and painting, the study of the ancient languages, legislation, and feudal customs; and he thus acquired, during the short intervals of peace, an education superior to the age in which he lived.

While occupied by such agreeable studies the life of René must have been tranquil and happy; but it was only a brief period. As early as the 10th of
1420. November, in 1420, this prince was at once awakened to the anxiety of protecting his states from a powerful competitor, to repulse whom it might even be required to unite with others in some military expeditions.

The Duke of Lorraine had, upon his daughter's marriage, taken on himself the care of the estates of René, as well as the charge of the person of his son-in-law; and he was occupied in November of 1420, in obtaining the recognition of Isabella as his successor,

* Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

in case he should die without male issue. To this he had been compelled by the conduct of his own nephew, Antoine de Vaudemont, who, from motives of interest, had not participated in the general satisfaction upon the marriage of René and Isabella. He had long enjoyed the hope of reigning in Lorraine after his uncle's decease, but the union which had just taken place had destroyed his illusions, and he could with difficulty restrain his feelings of resentment on beholding himself superseded by an Angevine prince. The age of René precluding explanation, De Vaudemont stifled his resentment at the offence and injustice, as he considered it; yet his apparent composure gave occasion for serious apprehension. This prince, who had been born in the midst of political storms, had aspired to personal distinction; and priding himself on his illustrious ancestry, he thirsted to add glory to his race. He was a devoted subject, a faithful friend, and a respectful relative. His noble character, and especially his frankness, added to his military talents, had secured him some powerful allies. As an enemy he was the more to be feared, as it was well known that justice and good faith only could make him draw his sword; but, when indeed he did so, his haughtiness led him on to extremes, even beyond the bounds of prudence, for he did not estimate the chances of war, nor the misfortunes and oppressions which might drive a people to despair. Such was the character of a prince, who, unable to endure even the shadow of an injustice, had so unexpectedly found in the youthful René a powerful rival, against whom he only awaited the opportunity of revenging himself.

Antoine de Vaudemont insisted that the Salic law being still in force in his family, Lorraine, a fief male, ought not, under any pretence, to revert to a female, or

to leave his family by marriage. Finding, however, that he could not prevail upon his uncle to revoke his will in favour of Isabella, this prince declared that upon the death of Charles of Lorraine he would prove his rights, and obtain with his sword that inheritance of which he considered himself so unjustly deprived. These menaces made it necessary for the Duke of Lorraine to call upon the nobles of his States to swear to perform the conditions of his will; and he also caused his daughter to be crowned as his immediate heiress.*

1424. Dom Calmet. On the 5th of February, 1424 (according to the chronicle of Lorraine), Isabella, Duchess of Bar, made her first entrance at Pont-à-Mousson, where many gentlemen, knights, and esquires awaited her, and celebrated her arrival there by jousts and grand fêtes.† On the 1st of August of the same year Isabella gave birth to her eldest son, John, afterwards Duke of Calabria. This event was commemorated with rejoicings in Lorraine. Her eldest daughter, Yolande, was not born until two years later, in 1426, with a twin-brother called Nicolas, Duke of Bar, who died young.‡

The second daughter of René and Isabella, the renowned Margaret of Anjou, was born on the 23rd of

1429. Dom Calmet. March, 1429, at Pont-à-Mousson, which was then one of the finest castles of Lorraine and had formed a part of her mother's dower.

The infant Margaret was baptized, under the great crucifix in the Cathedral of Toul, by the bishop of that diocese. Her sponsors were her uncle Louis III., King of Naples, and Margaret, Duchess of Lorraine, her maternal grandmother.§

* Moreri; Dom Calmet; Bodin; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier; Barante.

† Dom Calmet.

‡ Moreri; Bodin.

§ Moreri; Dict. Historique des Femmes Célèbres.

René's faithful nurse, Theophaine la Magine (who, by this time, had doubtless advanced in experience as well as in age,) was appointed* to watch over the first years of this favoured child, who inherited the excellence and talents of her father; to these, as she grew up, she added the beauty and grace of her mother, afterwards appearing as a bright star in the horizon, destined to shine conspicuous with transcendent lustre.

At a very early age Margaret of Anjou gave proofs of those virtues which win the affections, and of such great abilities as seldom fail to command the notice of the world. In her case they led to the splendours of a throne, where she became immersed in difficulties and afflictions.

In the military expeditions which René undertook with the Duke of Lorraine and the Cardinal of Bar, he was very successful. He effectually checked the aggressions of the Count de Vaudemont, and in all his enterprises exhibited great activity, ardour, and bravery. It was during the sojourn of this prince on the borders of the Meuse that he improved himself in the profession of arms, while engaged in repelling the rebellious vassals; until, fatigued with such petty warfare, he sought to enlarge his sphere, and was induced to join the forces of Charles VII.

It was just at that remarkable era when Joan of Arc† had miraculously effected the deliverance of Orleans,

* Dom Calmet; Moreri; Baker.

† René had already seen the heroic shepherdess of Vancouleurs, on her first appearance in the presence of Duke Charles, at Nanci. She had there spoken of her high mission, and in reply was reminded of her unfitness for war; in order to inspire the Duke and his court with confidence she requested to have a horse brought to her, when, springing upon this high battle-horse without the use of the stirrups, she seized, with a martial air, a lance which was handed to her, and executed in the court of the castle several courses and evolutions as well as the best-trained man-at-arms.

René of Anjou was blockading the city of Metz which the Duke of Lorraine had besieged. Had that prince been influenced by policy or prudence, he would have remained neutral in those contests which desolated France; but his affection for King Charles, his brother-in-law, and his predilection for the French, irresistibly impelled him, with all the enthusiasm of a youthful breast, to join the royal standard on the plains of Champagne, where his brothers, Louis III., Duke of Anjou, and Charles, Count of Maine, had already appeared. Nor could the solicitations of the Cardinal of Bar, or of the Duke of Lorraine, deter him from his purpose. The experience of these princes led them to fear the results of the union of the English with the Burgundians against themselves, should they declare war against them; but René, unmoved by their arguments, left the siege of Metz almost by stealth, and his conduct was soon justified by the success of the cause he embraced.

1429. Mezerai. It was on the 16th of July, 1429, the eve of the same day on which King Charles was consecrated in the church of St. Denis, that René joined him, bringing with him the Damoisel de Commerçy and other lords; and he afterwards accompanied that monarch in his brilliant career of triumphs and conquests, serving him with devotedness and fidelity.*

René ventured, although but twenty-one years of age, to second the advice of Joan of Arc, the Duke of Alençon, Dunois and others, contrary to the counsel of the powerful La Tremouille. He soon became united with all the great generals of France, Potou, La Hire, the Duke of Bourbon, and still more intimately with Arnaud de Barbazan, called "le chevalier sans reproche," and it was with this general that he appeared before Paris. They seized together on

* Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

Pont-sur-Seine, Chantilly, Pont Saint Maxence, and Choisy, and finally they entered with Charles VII. at St. Denis. Then detaching himself from the royal army, René distinguished himself particularly at the head of his troops, by the taking of the fortress of Chappes, in Champagne, near Troyes, where, with 3,000 men, he defied 8,000 English and Burgundians united,* and triumphed over them in spite of the efforts of their skilful chief, Antoine de Toulongeon. Also at the village of La Croisette, near Chalons-sur-Marne, René gained a victory over the English.†

When this prince was rejoicing in his good fortune, and becoming daily more illustrious by the success he obtained in the cause of the neglected and despised "King of Bourges," as King Charles was styled, he was compelled to quit the field of action somewhat hastily, being summoned to attend the death-bed of his warm-hearted and generous relative, the Cardinal of Bar. With deep and unfeigned regret, René paid his last tribute of respect and honour to the memory of his uncle, who died in 1430; and then, repairing to Bar, he attended his funeral obsequies. 1430. Biographie Universelle.

This loss was almost immediately after succeeded by that of the Duke of Lorraine; and scarcely had René taken possession of the territories of his uncle, when he was called upon to assume the reigns of government over the dukedom of Lorraine. Charles, the second Duke of Lorraine, expired on the 23rd of January, 1430,‡ and was interred in St. George's Church at Nanci. He left a will, made in 1425, abrogating his former testament, and prescribing the manner in which his son-in-law should govern in Lorraine, in the event 1430.

* Monstrelet says the number was only 4,000.

† Biographie Universelle; Barante; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet.

‡ Some place the death of Duke Charles in 1431.

of the decease of his wife Isabella.* René of Anjou thus became an independent prince, and was solemnly acknowledged by the nobles and clergy of the two States.

René made his entrance into Nanci with Isabella, both mounted on magnificent chargers, amidst the blessings of the multitude, and the olden cry of "Noel! Noel!" The clergy and the most distinguished of the nobility attended them, according to ancient usage; and near an antique stone cross, erected at the gate of St. Nicholas, the Duke and Duchess dismounted, previous to their entry into the city. They gave their horses to the Chapter of St. George, who preceded them, bearing the cross and the *cuissard* of the holy knight. The *Veni Creator* was then chanted by the people.

René and Isabella were thence conducted in procession to the ducal church; they knelt before the high altar, and the Dean presented to them a half-expanded missal. "Most high and honourable seigneurs," continued the aged ecclesiastic, "we beg of you to take upon yourselves to swear that you will conform to the duties which your predecessors of glorious memory have been accustomed to respect, in compliance with ancient usage, on their entry into the duchy of Lorraine, and the city of Nanci." "Willingly," replied René and Isabella, and laying their hands on the sacred volume, they swore by their hopes of paradise, faithfully to maintain the rights of Lorraine. The Duchess Margaret, who was dressed in mourning, was delighted to see her daughter thus honoured.†

The history of the Middle Ages offers nothing more

* Dom Calmet's Hist. of Lorraine; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

† Chronicle of Lorraine.

solemn than these acts of religion, in which the people, the clergy, and nobility summoned a prince on his accession to the crown to protect their franchises, their liberties and privileges. This admixture of loyalty and rudeness, of submission and independence always prevailed in these free customs of Lorraine.

The earliest acts of René developed a maturity of wisdom rarely discovered in a prince of two-and-twenty, the age at which he had succeeded to his inheritance of Bar and Lorraine. The people of these countries, who had so lately been rejoicing in their reunion through the marriage of René and Isabella, were destined to experience the vanity of their hopes and expectations, and to feel no less than their Duke and Duchess, the cruel vicissitudes of war, for Lorraine was again plunged into an abyss of evils after the death of Duke Charles. On the occasion of this visit of René, he concluded with the city of Metz a peace which was happy and lasting. He called to the presidency of his council, the virtuous Henri de Ville, Bishop of Toul; assembled about him men the most distinguished for their merits and learning, and renounced fêtes and pleasures to devote himself to the administration of the duchy. A law against blasphemers, a statute which granted an indemnity to men at arms whose horses had been killed in his service, and other letters patent in which he consigned to certain cities and abbeys his protection and a confirmation of their privileges, have been preserved as pledges of his faith and constant solicitude.

This epoch of the life of René was no doubt the happiest of his career. Blessed by his subjects, at peace with his neighbours, he had not yet felt the gales of adversity, and no reverse had tarnished the *éclat* of his arms. It is pleasing to dwell on the

tender solicitude he felt for his people, his brilliant valour, and his sincere piety; and also on the virtues of the good Isabella, whom heaven had rewarded by granting her four beautiful children, bright ornaments of the Court of Lorraine.

René visited successively all the towns of his duchy, and received, in his progress through them, the most affecting proofs of devotion and love. For the first time the strife of arms was not heard in Lorraine, and but for the ambition of the Count de Vaudemont, nothing had occurred to disturb the general tranquillity and happiness.*

An oath had been taken by the Count de Vaudemont to maintain with his sword his right to the Duchy of Lorraine, and he pretended that the fief was male, and could not pass to René by the right of a woman. This prince had been educated in the camp, had served in eight pitched battles, and was inured to war; he therefore despised the youth and inexperience of René, and when required to do homage to the young Duke, on taking possession of Lorraine, he positively refused. The fortress of Vaudemont was immediately besieged by René, but the garrison being assured of assistance, defended it for three months with great valour. This was but the commencement of a grievous war. No two leaders could be more opposed to each other in their views and interests. The Count de Vaudemont had always belonged to the Burgundian party, while René, a son of Louis II. of Anjou, one of the greatest enemies the House of Burgundy had ever had, had not only joined the French army, but had made deplorable war upon the Burgundians, assisted by Arnaud de Barbazan, First Chamberlain to the King of France, by whom he had been distinguished as "le chevalier sans

* Dom Calmet; Barante; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

reproche" and permitted to assume the *Fleurs-de-lys* for his arms.

To recompense René for the services he had rendered him, King Charles at this time sent him some reinforcements led on by his friend Barbazan. René was also joined by the Bishop of Metz, the Counts of Linanges and Salu, the Lord of Heidelburg, the Sire of Sarrebruche, the Sire of Châtelet and others, with whom he united a considerable army. On the other side was the Marshal de Toulongeon, who, taking part with the Count de Vaudemont, rendered him no little assistance by raising for him an army in Burgundy and Picardy; and, as a further means of promoting his cause, he circulated a report that the object of René, after the defeat of the Count de Vaudemont, was the conquest of all Burgundy. A tax of 50,000 francs was accorded by the States of Burgundy, and Duke Philip also taking part with the Count de Vaudemont, supplied him with a large body of troops, headed by Antoine de Toulongeon, who, having been defeated before the fortress of Chappes by René and Barbazan, eagerly thirsted for revenge.* This army, amounting to 1,000 or 1,200† men, all experienced in war, advanced towards Vaudemont, and in order to provoke René to fight, commenced by ravaging his territories.

This prince, much affected by witnessing the misfortunes to which his people were thus exposed, became impatient to terminate the contest by a decided battle, and quitting the blockade of Vaudemont, advanced to meet his adversaries on the plain, where they had strongly entrenched themselves. The Burgundians, however, were not sufficiently numerous to

* Bodin; Barante; Monfaucon; Sismondi; Monstrelet; Mezerai; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

† Monstrelet says 4,000.

risk an engagement in a country where this was rendered difficult by the hedges and ditches which intersected it; and provisions failing them, the Marshal advised a retreat into Burgundy, much to the chagrin of the Count de Vaudemont. They had already begun their march, when they were overtaken by René, and challenged to fight. The Lord of Toulongeon replied that he was prepared for battle, and such was the gallant bearing of this party that Barbazan, perceiving it, would have prevented the engagement, advising delay, and representing that the want of provisions would soon compel the Burgundians to retreat, but he was not listened to, so urgent were the younger knights for the attack.

1431. Bodin. The two armies met, on the 2nd of July, 1431, on the plains of Bulgneville, near Neufchâteau, and in this battle, called "La journée des Barons" on account of the number of lords present, the Count de Vaudemont gained the advantage by making a sudden attack with his artillery, and the Duke of Lorraine was defeated. His general, Barbazan, was killed, and René himself wounded, and taken prisoner along with two hundred of his followers. The total loss of the vanquished was estimated at 3,000 men.* The engagement lasted but an hour; some even say, but a quarter of an hour. René had fought in this battle like a lion, and was not overcome until blinded by the blood which flowed from a wound on the left brow, the mark of which he carried to the grave.

The Marshal de Toulongeon conveyed his prisoner with all speed into Burgundy, where, at first, René was confined in the château "de Talent," near Dijon, but afterwards removed to that city, and im-

* Bodin; Moreri; Dom Calmet; Monfaucon; Barante; Sismondi; Mezerai; Monstrelet; Baudier; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

prisoned in a tower of the palace of the Dukes of Burgundy.*

1431. Villeneuve Bargemont.

Isabella meanwhile, with her children and her widowed mother, Margaret of Bavaria, had remained at Nanci, to await the issue of the battle of Bulgneville, which ended so fatally for the interests of the Duke of Lorraine. The first news of this disaster was conveyed to these princesses by some of the affrighted fugitives from the battle. They told the unhappy wife of the capture of her lord. "Alas!" exclaimed Isabella, clasping her child, the little Margaret,† to her bosom, "Alas! where is René? He is taken, he is slain!" "Madam," they replied, "be not thus abandoned to grief; the Duke is well, though disabled, and a prisoner of the Burgundians." But the Duchess appeared inconsolable. The news of René's defeat was speedily confirmed, and when Isabella was assured that her husband's life had been spared, she became more composed, and prepared, with the assistance of her mother, to take such steps as the exigency of the state demanded.

These courageous princesses, far from being overcome by this terrible shock or by the trouble and consternation which ensued, were only animated to greater exertions. They soon displayed the utmost firmness and presence of mind. They immediately convoked the Council, and Isabella appeared in the midst, dressed in a long mourning veil, and leading her four little children. As she entered the hall, she exclaimed, "Alas! I know not if my husband be dead or taken?" "Madam," replied the lords who were present, "be not discomforted; Monsieur the Duke has indeed been taken by the Burgundians, but fear not, he will be ransomed. By the grace of God, we will see

* Moreri; Biographie Universelle; Monstrelet; Godard Faultrier.

† Then only two years old.

the end of this war. The Count Antoine would have the duchy, but it is well defended. We will not cease to make war with him, and in a short time your husband will be released." At these words the good Duchess was a little consoled. She commanded, by the advice of her council, a general levy in Lorraine and Barrois. In a few days a numerous army was assembled, well furnished, and to these were added the remnant of the army which had escaped from Bulgneville; and these were conducted by the valiant knights before Vezelise, having repulsed the attacks of the Count de Vaudemont. On the sixth day of the siege this unfortunate town was taken and sacked to the utmost. They also took the fortress of Toullo, and guarded Nanci from a *coup-de-main*. Deputies were sent to most of the towns to exhort the people to maintain their fidelity to René, and to refuse obedience to any orders which might emanate from the Count de Vaudemont.

To this prince, their kinsman yet their most bitter enemy, the unhappy Isabella and her mother even ventured to address themselves in person. They obtained an interview with him at Vezelise, when with all the pathos and energy inspired by misfortune, they represented to him the evils attendant on a civil war in Lorraine, and so affecting were their supplications that they obtained from the Count a truce for three months, from the 1st of August to the 1st of November, and which afterwards was prolonged to the 25th of January following.*

While Isabella was thus engaged in courageously defending her rights to her paternal inheritance and preserving her duchy from invasion and civil war, René, from the solitude of his prison, was vainly addressing to Duke Philip numerous messages. This

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

prince, however, at a distance from his capital; refused to listen to any treaty respecting the freedom of his illustrious captive. Hard and austere as the Duke must then have appeared towards his prisoner, yet Philip of Burgundy was not insensible to feelings of compassion, or unable to appreciate merit. When he came, some time after, to Dijon, to preside at the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and to bestow the collars of this Order on his victorious generals, Vergy, Toulongeon and others, who had been triumphant at the battle of Bulgneville, he remembered Duke René, and when passing the Tour de Bar, he stopped, and commanding the guards to admit him, he then hastily entered the prison, and evinced his great sympathy towards his captive whom he subsequently often revisited, showing great satisfaction in his society.

The Council of Lorraine regarded with the deepest sympathy their Duchess, in her afflicted and desolate condition, being left with four young children—two boys and two girls—described as the most beautiful ever seen.

The intercessions of the unfortunate Isabella with her hostile kinsman, the Count de Vaudemont, although somewhat availing for her country, were altogether useless in procuring the liberation of her husband. René had become the prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy, who consigned him to a tedious incarceration in his own dominions. The first days of René's captivity passed in the fortress "de Talent;" these were days of sorrow; but he expected to be transferred to Dijon, and hoped for the change, as promising him a less rigorous confinement. Orders were, however, received by the Marshal de Toulongeon to convey his illustrious prisoner to Bracon-sur-Salins. At this place the governor of the castle, Antoine de Bracon

surnamed Simard, was entrusted with the care of René; and the dungeon being in a ruinous condition, this prince was placed, for a time, in the Saulnerie or Salt-mine. At the expiration of four months, a contagion breaking out near this spot, René was, by orders of the Council of Burgundy, conducted to Dijon. The Council was, indeed, too much interested in the preservation of the life of René to risk it by such a distemper, but its members were also influenced by other motives in the removal of their captive.

Several attempts had been made to rescue this prince, and another being discovered in November of
1431. this year, 1431, it caused so much alarm to the Bishop of Langres, and to the Council of Burgundy over whom he presided, as to occasion them to write, during the night, to the bailiff of Châlons, to whom, at that time, was entrusted the chief *surveillance* of their prisoners. This new enterprise was undertaken by Robert de Baudricourt, who assembled in the little town of Gondricourt a body of soldiers devoted to the Duke of Lorraine, and equally resolved with their leader to procure his freedom, even at the risk of their lives. The dispositions had been made with the greatest secrecy; and a German taken prisoner at Bulgneville, who had been just set free, contrived to acquaint René, while he was being conveyed from the Salt-mine to the château de Bracon, of the plan concerted for his deliverance: but the Duke's removal to the château de Rochefort, near the town of Dôle, completely defeated this project.

In this new abode René was only permitted a few days of repose, when he was conducted to Dijon, and such severe measures were there resorted to for his security, that he became convinced he must renounce every hope of escape. The most delicate attentions were, notwithstanding, paid to him, in order

to make his captivity less painful. The melancholy situation of the youthful prisoner was also mitigated by the presence of the Bishop of Metz, of Erard de Châtelet, of the brave Rodemark, of the faithful Vitallis and others, who had all been taken prisoners, like himself, by the Burgundians. René was incapable of selfishness, and he hastened to guarantee a part of the ransom required of his companions in misfortune, and having thus assisted in procuring their return to Lorrainé, he remained himself a solitary captive in the Tour de Bar, at Dijon, which ever after retained this name from its illustrious inmate.* ·

One of the first cares of René, after the battle of Bulgneville, was to found, at the chapter-house of Notre Dame de Vancouleurs, a perpetual mass for the soul of Barbazan his general, and for all those who had been slain in that engagement. Not confining himself to this act of picty, this religious prince, shortly after his arrival at Dijon, had a chapel erected on the right of the choir of the palace church, under the invocation of Notre Dame and his patron St. René. Amidst these sacred occupations and duties, how many sorrowful thoughts and protracted regrets must have assailed him! In the solitude of his prison, René found leisure to reflect on the early disappointment of all his prospects of glory and of happiness. A single battle had deprived him of the flower of his army, of liberty, and, perhaps, even of his states; had separated him from all he held dear, and had banished for ever his projects for the welfare of Lorraine. He felt but too sensibly—from the excessive precautions taken for the security of his person—the great importance which Philip, Duke of Burgundy, attached to his prisoner, and he contemplated the calamitous influence which his imprisonment would have over his future life.

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

Thus he gradually fell into a sombre melancholy, which was much augmented by the recollection of his wife and four helpless children; and although treated with all the regard due to his misfortunes, rank, and personal merits, a deep grief took possession of his heart. Nothing seemed to alleviate his sorrow, and even the very distractions offered him became importunate. The most absolute solitude could alone soothe him.

It was at this mournful epoch of his life that René, in order to escape from the *ennui* which consumed him and from his melancholy reflections, had recourse to the fine arts, which he had constantly cultivated. He applied himself with great assiduity to the study of painting, music, and poetry, and these, which had already delighted him in his youth, proved his consolation under misfortune, and afterwards became the solace of his old age. The first fruits of his talents for painting René consecrated with affecting piety to the decoration of his newly constructed chapel in the palace church, in which he placed the arms of Bar. In the same manner, that which he had ordained the foundation of, in the church of the Carthusian friars of Dijon, was ornamented by his own hand. He afterwards painted his own portrait on a window of the Duke's chapel. Two years later there were placed there the emblazoned arms of nineteen knights of the Toison d'or, who had been present at the Chapter held in 1433. Thus the portrait of the Duke of Lorraine was found surrounded by the escutcheons of the greater part of the generals who had borne arms against him at Bulgneville.

Nor was it only in the company of the muses that René solaced his captivity: he employed himself in more serious studies, and if his genius was aroused, his judgment also became matured amidst the reflections which his solitude awakened. He learnt the value of

the study of history, which forestalls the lessons of experience, and he engaged earnestly in the difficult science of administration, and in the art of war in which he had already received so severe a lesson; in short, he learnt how to profit in the school of adversity. The rich library of Philip was situated at no great distance from the prison of René, and it may be presumed that this illustrious captive was permitted to explore its literary treasures, and that this fortunate resource proved conducive to his resignation, while it also prompted him to the useful occupation of that time which he had so much at his own disposal.*

The Duchess Isabella, meanwhile, with her mother, Margaret of Bavaria, continued indefatigable in their endeavours to obtain the release of René. When they found their hopes of carrying him off were disappointed by his removal to Dijon, they applied themselves to their relative, the Emperor. Sigismond, and also despatched an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, to demand the liberation of the Duke of Lorraine at whatever price. Erard de Châtelet (himself but just ransomed out of the hands of the Sire de Vergy), was employed by the two princesses in this embassy; and, as they neglected nothing to secure the success of their attempt, they previously concluded with the Seigneur de Vergy (who, at this time, had great power at the court of Philip) a treaty, the articles of which had been drawn up by the Council of Dijon.

The success of Erard de Châtelet's embassy was unfortunately annulled by one of those rare fatalities which occasionally set aside the wisest combinations and arrangements of human foresight. The benevolent protection of Sigismond, which had been exerted in favour of René from the very origin of the pretensions of the Count de Vaudemont, now rendered null this

* Moreri; Villeneuve Bargemont.

embassy. The Duke of Burgundy having learnt that the Emperor had recognized his prisoner as Duke of Lorraine, haughtily opposed the right he arrogated to himself, and protested that he alone had the power of disposing of the fate of René.*

This reply, so discouraging to the two princesses, caused Margaret of Bavaria to endeavour to procure, by a personal application, the mediation of King Charles VII. She set out accompanied by Henri de Ville, Bishop of Toul, and Conrad Bayer, Bishop of Metz. At Lyons she found the Count of Genoa, the brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy and his father, the Duke of Savoy, whom she sought to interest in the release of René. She then proceeded to rejoin the King of France, who was at that time traversing a part of Dauphiné.

Isabella of Lorraine also presented herself before King Charles, being unable to restrain her impatience to learn his resolves. Several ladies and gentlemen of her court attended Isabella on this journey, and to this visit has been attributed the origin of the passion of King Charles for the fair and amiable Agnes Sorel, who accompanied her benefactress on this occasion. The beautiful Agnes, placed in the flower of her age near the person of Isabella of Lorraine, had received in her palace and under her eye the most finished education, and the example of every virtue; but the attractions of her mind and person became the unfortunate snare which led to a brilliant celebrity, and the "Damoiselle de Fromenteau," deceived by bad counsels, had the weakness to sacrifice her reputation to the dangerous pride of passing for the mistress of her king. It was her gaiety, pleasing manners, and agreeable conversation which fascinated this monarch as much as her beauty. Of this last it was said, that it

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

exceeded the beauty of any other woman in France, and she was distinguished as "la belle des belles." When she had attained the rank of declared favourite, Agnes made use of the influence which the superiority of her character had given her, to awaken noble sentiments in the breast of King Charles who was naturally inclined to indolence.* She was charitable to the poor, and liberal in her donations for the repair of churches and the relief of distress. It was at this time, when Queen Isabella, full of anxiety and deep interest in the result of her mission, came to plead on behalf of her beloved husband, that she sought to avail herself of the ascendency which the beauty, elegant figure, and intellectual conversation of Agnes Sorel were obtaining over the King. Isabella engaged the fair Agnes to espouse her cause, and to use her influence with Charles VII. to obtain his assistance in procuring the release of her husband. It must be observed here, that it was not only the King who was pleased with the merits of the fair Agnes, but his Queen also; and Mary of Anjou, little fearing for her own future happiness, at this period entreated that Isabella of Lorraine would permit her favourite to enter her service. But the beauty of the amiable Mary had not yet fixed the heart of her husband, and the time soon arrived, when, detained at Loches by a royal order, her days were passed in sadness; and amidst the joyful exultation of the triumph of King Charles, the tears of his consort flowed in her cheerless retreat, not far from the castle of Agnes Sorel. When King Charles visited Anjou, the most brilliant fêtes were given for this lady, at Saumur, whilst the English ravaged the country and carried mourning and desolation throughout the provinces of Maine and Anjou.†

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Hallam; Monstrelet; Chalon.
† Bodin; Monstrelet.

A short time previous to the arrival of the Duchess of Lorraine at the court of France, René, who probably was ignorant of this step, had sent instructions in full to his Seneschal, Charles of Haussonville, and others, to appear in his name in the presence of the Duke of Burgundy who was then in Flanders, to sustain his interests against the Count de Vaudemont. In the interval, however, Philip had left Lille, and after traversing some of his provinces, came to Dijon on the 16th of February, 1432, with his nephews, the Counts of Rethel and Nevers.*

1432. Villeneuve Bargemont.

We are told that upon entering this city, so great was the impatience of the Duke of Burgundy to behold René, that, without taking any repose, he proceeded immediately to the Tour de Bar. Thus it was that in the narrow compass of a prison, these two princes, both descendants of King John, for the first time beheld each other; the one being at the height of his power, called the "Great Duke of the West" and the "equal of kings," and the other appearing in the lowest depth of misfortune, as his captive. These princes were only disunited by the dissensions of their families, while their brilliant tastes and excellent qualities were such as to ensure their mutual esteem.

They both experienced much gratification at this meeting, and Philip especially embraced René tenderly. He dismissed all their attendants, and enjoyed a long and affectionate interview with his prisoner.

When about to separate, René agreeably surprised the Duke, his cousin, by presenting him with his own portrait, which he had copied on glass, and also that of John "Sans Peur," whose features he had rendered with fidelity. These proofs of the talent of René were, by the orders of Philip, placed in one of the Gothic windows of the church of the Carthusian friars founded

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

by his ancestor, Philip "le Hardi;" and for a long time they were objects of great interest to travellers, though now lost to France.

The Duke of Burgundy's visit to Dijon had no relation to René, although he was so eager to behold him. The design of the Duke in this journey was to preside, with the utmost pomp which was customary in those days, over a Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece instituted in January, 1430, on the occasion of the second marriage of Philip. It is probable that Isabella of Portugal was there with her husband, and also that René sought permission to assist in a ceremony so analogous to his tastes. Philip saw his prisoner several times, he frequently invited him to his banquets, and as he became more and more acquainted with the amiable disposition of René and the gentleness and grace of his manners, he felt all the early prejudices, which had been instilled into him against this prince, vanish away.* Nor did he confine himself to these outward marks of interest. He appointed, on the 1st of April, the meetings for the consideration of the conditions which should be exacted for his release, and to fix the epoch of his liberation. It would even appear that from the 1st of March, 1432, René regarded himself as free.† In the first session the Chancellor of the Duke of Burgundy read through the articles of this provisionary treaty, and at the second meeting they were accepted. "René therein makes mention at length of the obligations under which he was to the affectionate prayers of his mother-in-law and of the princes of the blood; he acknowledges the kindness and courtesy of the Duke of Burgundy; submits, as a guarantee of his word, to give as hostages his two young sons, John and Louis of Anjou; he moreover

1432. Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet.

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Heures Manuscrites du roi René.

concedes to the Duke Philip the castles of Clermont in Argonne, Châtillon, Bourmont, and Charmes; and consents to pay the Burgundian troops that were to form their garrisons." For greater security, on the 16th of the same month, thirty gentlemen of Lorraine, who were devoted to their Duke and the greater part of whom had been present at Bulgneville, undertook, upon oath, that "that prince should return within the Tour de Bar on the 1st of May, 1433," but if he failed, they were to surrender themselves prisoners at Dijon one month after the expiration of the term assigned. Besides these clauses of the treaty, there was a pecuniary ransom not yet stipulated, and upon which were exacted in advance, 20,000 saluts d'or, as well as 18,000 florins claimed by the Marshal de Toulongeon as the ransom of the Sire de Rodemach. René subscribed without hesitation to all these conditions, in order to get free, and that he might return to Lorraine, once more preside over the government of his states, and by his presence afford some remedy for the accumulated evils which overwhelmed his people. There was yet, however, one condition more added to these numerous exactions, and this was still more painfully extorted from him.

The imperious Count de Vaudemont had again taken up arms, and at the head of 7,000 men threatened to possess himself by force of the duchy with which they refused to invest him. When he heard of the negotiations entered into at Dijon he again proclaimed his rights, and took active measures with the approval of Philip, only consenting to remain at peace in expectation of a final decision, conditionally, that René should bestow the hand of his eldest daughter Yolande upon his own son, Ferri of Lorraine.

At first René rejected this demand, and his repugnance was only too just; but motives of general policy

prevailed, and he submitted this point to his council. It was afterwards referred by René and Antoine to the arbitration of the Duke of Burgundy to determine the conditions of this marriage, and it was finally settled that Yolande should receive 18,000 florins of the Rhine as her dower, the half of which sum should be appropriated to the purchase of a domain for the betrothed. It was agreed that the parties should be affianced on the 24th of June of the same year, and that afterwards the princess Yolande should be conducted to Neufchâtel, and confided to the care of Count Antoine de Vaudemont until the day of the marriage. This treaty was signed by the two princes who were reconciled to each other, and all the articles were duly observed, to the great joy of the people.

In a letter addressed about this time by René to the Regency of Lorraine, in which he required them to send his two sons to him, we find stated the considerations which induced him to submit himself to these rigorous exactions. "The misfortunes and divisions caused in my states by my detention, make it a law for me," says he, "to employ as soon as possible all the means in my power to put a speedy end to them."

The return of René was indeed imperatively demanded by the grief of his beloved wife and mother, as well as by the miserable condition of Lorraine. John of Fenestranges, Grand Marshal of Lorraine, Gerard of Haraucourt, Seneschal, James of Haraucourt, Bailiff of Nanci, Philip of Lenoncourt, and others, conducted John and Louis of Anjou to Langres and thence to Dijon, where they arrived on the 28th of April, previous to their father's liberation. René finally left his prison on the 1st of May, 1432,* and about the same period Yolande, his eldest daughter, was 1432.

* Moreri; Monfaucon; Biographie Universelle; Sismondi; Monstrelet; Mezerai; Baudier; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

separated from her mother, and departed to the Countess de Vaudemont.*

1432. Monstrelet. It was at this time that René entered into a treaty with two princes, with whom he had been for some time at war. These were two brothers, the Counts of St. Pol and of Ligny; the latter had conquered Guise, a city which had formed part of the inheritance of the Duke of Bar, and which René had ceded to his mother, Queen Yolande, in 1424, when her guardianship ended. For the security of this place René freely gave up the Castle of Bohein, in the presence of many of his nobility, by his orders assembled. Upon this occasion the proposals were made for the marriage of Margaret, René's younger daughter, with the Count of St. Pol's second son, Peter of Luxembourg;† but this was deferred until another meeting.‡

Margaret of Anjou, the fourth child of René and Isabella, was at this period scarcely three years of age, and just commencing her education, at Nanci, under the eye of her illustrious mother. By this tender parent she was carefully instructed, and gave early promise of the talents and beauty which afterwards so much distinguished her.

1433. Monstrelet. The Duke of Burgundy, in 1433, held the feast of the Golden Fleece, at Dijon; and shortly after, being invited by Amé, eighth Duke of Savoy, to be present at the marriage of his son, the Count of Genoa, about to be united to the daughter of the King of Cyprus, at Chambery, the Duke repaired thither with an escort of two hundred knights and esquires. René of Anjou was also there. He was received with the greatest respect by the Duke of Savoy, and was placed at the nuptial banquet next the bride. There were

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Biographie Universelle; Monstrelet.

† The equerry of the Count of St. Pol had taken René prisoner.

‡ Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

also present, the uncle of the bride, the Cardinal of Cyprus, the Count of Nevers, and the heir of Cleves. On the day of the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy, the wedding took place, and it was followed by a plentiful feast, and a succession of diversions. At this court was seen a luxury quite regal, and the most exquisite politeness.

It was here that René beheld for the first and last time, Margaret, the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, who, at this time, was preparing to rejoin her husband, Louis III., Duke of Anjou. This princess, resplendent in beauty, youth, and grace, was the ornament of the wedding feast.

After these fêtes, Margaret of Savoy immediately set out for Italy, with a numerous suite. Philip and Amé also departed; they only separated at Chalons, where, by an act of the 26th of February, the Duke of Burgundy completed his marks of generosity towards his prisoner, by prolonging the period of his freedom, and allowing his two sons to go and meet him at Nanci.*

It was in the interval of this journey to the Court of Savoy that Charles VII., his Queen Mary, Charles of Anjou, and the Duke of Bourbon, not satisfied with the treaty of Brussels, had made overtures to the Regency of Lorraine, to act directly, and even without the authority of René, with the Emperor Sigismond. This monarch appeared in fact to be the only arbiter whose right of decision regarding the sovereignty of Lorraine could not be disputed. The Bishops of Metz and Verdun undertook earnestly to commence this delicate negotiation, and, supported by the French ambassadors, they had all the success they could anticipate; consequently, René and the Count de Vaudemont were summoned to Basle, where the

* Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

Emperor was staying, in order that in his presence they should maintain their respective pretensions. One thing, however, had not been considered, viz., that René, who was only free on his parole, could not absent himself without the consent of the Duke of Burgundy, and that it became necessary to inform this prince of all that passed. The Duke was hurt that René should have thus acted without his knowledge, and at a moment when he was himself showing so much generosity towards his captive. At first, he haughtily refused to permit René to depart from Nanci; but, on reflection, he consented; requiring, however, that in their father's absence, his two sons, John and Louis of Anjou, should be conducted to the Tour de Bar. This order was immediately executed, and René quitted Lorraine, followed by some gentlemen, who all arrived at Basle at the same time as the Count de Vaudemont, on the 23rd of April, 1434.*

1434. Villeneuve Bargemont.

The relationship of the Emperor Sigismond to René,† as much as the apparent justice of his cause, inclined him to favour his young relative. Thus, in his reception of the two illustrious competitors with the greatest marks of regard, he yet could not help exhibiting peculiar goodwill towards René. His court and Council participated in this feeling, which became so manifested, that it could not escape the observation of the Count de Vaudemont. This prince fearing, and not without reason, that this prejudice would influence the decision of the tribunal of the empire, caused an act to be committed to paper, in Latin, declaring his opposition to any judgment unless the title produced by his rival should be first communicated to him; and so anxious was he that this writing should be delivered safely into the hands of Sigismond, that he accom-

* Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† He was the son of a sister of Louis I. of Anjou.

panied the lawyers and advocates who were to present it. He entered with them into the cabinet of this monarch, and after it had been read, began to discuss it himself; but he was interrupted by Sigismond immediately, who told him he perfectly understood his reasons, and that he would confer with his Council about the matter. This abrupt manifestation of the Emperor's will did not prevent one of the Count's advocates beginning a long harangue, in which, going back to the origin of Lorraine, he sought to prove that the duchy being a fief male, was not transferable by marriage; and in support of his arguments, he brought so many quotations foreign to the case, that the Emperor at last offended, withdrew, leaving the Bishop of Passaw, the Count of Œtingen, and Chicala, his Aulic Counsellor, to listen to the conclusion of the discourse.*

The next day, the 24th of April, the Duke, with his principal officers, went in state to the cathedral of Notre Dame at Basle, where a mass of people awaited his arrival, expecting that the investiture of Lorraine must be irrevocably fixed. Each person was seated according to his rank. When Sigismond was about to ascend the magnificent throne which had been prepared for him in the choir, the Count de Vaudemont advanced to him, and solicited and obtained from him permission to plead his cause in public. His advocate then commenced his harangue, which, as he entered into minute details and repeated facts already well known, was of great length; but he was, notwithstanding, heard in profound silence. He had scarcely finished when the Emperor made a sign to his Aulic Counsellor to pronounce judgment. Chicala then, with a loud voice, said, "that the Emperor being well instructed on this important proceeding, and of the respective titles of

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

the august pretendants, and having reflected on it maturely, as well as the princes and lords who composed his Council, gave, by provision or grant, the Duchy of Lorraine to René of Anjou; yet without prejudice to the future rights of the Count de Vaudemont."

Sigismond then motioned to the young prince to draw near, received his oath of fidelity, and recognised him as Duke of Lorraine, according to all the formula in use from time immemorial. This prompt and unlooked-for decision much disconcerted the Count de Vaudemont, who instantly quitted the assembly, earnestly protesting against the validity of this judgment, and with his mind intent on disturbing anew the tranquillity of his fortunate rival, he departed from Basle.*

René, meanwhile, full of joy and gratitude, and desiring to profit by a second prolongation of his liberty granted to him by the Duke of Burgundy, dated the 1st of May, bade adieu to Sigismond.

The universal joy upon his arrival at Nanci, convinced this prince how much his presence was desired by the people of Lorraine, and how perfectly they comprehended his attachment to them. In their congratulations of one another they seemed to forget their past sufferings, and even sought to erase their remembrance from the minds of those individuals who had endured the most. Deeply affected by these sentiments, René in his turn sought to give proof of his own satisfaction, and ordered preparations to be made for a general fête, to be held at Pont-à-Mousson, on the 11th of the same month. All the lords of the neighbouring States were invited to join it, with a guarantee that they should return to their houses in

* Moreri; Barante; Monfaucon; Villeneuve Bargemont; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Mezerai: Biographie Universelle.

safety. This precaution was indispensable in those times, when even the highways were not free from peril.

At the tournaments, balls, and other amusements that succeeded, René and Isabella presided, which afforded general satisfaction. The greatest order and harmony prevailed, interrupted only by one event, which happened at the close of these diversions and might have led to serious results.*

Robert de Sarrebruche, not having been invited to this fête, probably on account of his bad conduct at Bulgneville,† regarded this neglect as a deadly affront, and to revenge himself, concealed himself with some soldiers in a thick wood through which the knights of Metz would have to pass, and taking them by surprise, dispersed some and captured eighteen of them, whom he brought to Commercy.

This audacity was resented by René, who assembled several noblemen of Lorraine and a large body of troops, and marched upon Commercy, which the Damoisel resolved to defend to the utmost; but he was unable to repel the efforts of René, and was only preserved from the just punishment of his temerity by the mediation of the Constable of Richemont, to whom René was under some obligations.

These princes resolved to raise the siege of Commercy, and decided that Robert de Sarrebruche should go to Bar, whither they were themselves about to proceed. At this place the Damoisel, throwing himself at the feet of René and the Constable, acknowledged his repentance, and promised upon oath never again to take up arms against the Duke of Lorraine, on pain of forfeiture of a large sum of money. After this,

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† He was one of the knights whose imprudent counsel in favour of the attack caused the defeat of René.

Robert de Sarrebruche was set free, but soon afterwards an accidental circumstance rekindled his anger, and he threatened René haughtily. The Constable, enraged at this conduct, caused him to be arrested, and compelled him to subscribe to the conditions which had been exacted from him. At this time also, some other quarrels with the neighbouring lords engaged the attention of René.*

It would appear that the Duke of Lorraine, although bound to return to his prison at the expiration of a year, viz., on the 1st of May, 1433, continued to enjoy his liberty for two entire years, without any desire being manifested on the part of the Duke of Burgundy to terminate it. Had he not, indeed, felt the fullest confidence in the honour of René, he had his two sons for hostages, who were answerable for him; in short, everything seemed to lead to the belief that this prince would continue still to exercise the same generosity towards his prisoner.

The solemn judgment, however, pronounced by the Emperor Sigismond, at Basle, had made the Count de Vaudemont more than ever the enemy of René, and it was with the utmost vexation that he beheld the strong attachment of the people of Lorraine to their Duke. He perceived that his own cause would be ruined, if his rival remained at liberty, and in the exercise of the sovereign power; he therefore renewed his entreaties with the Duke of Burgundy, that his rights should be recognised, and complained that they had taken away from him a prisoner who belonged to him only, as the chief of the victorious army at Bulgneville. He even retraced, in a long memoir, the circumstances of that eventful day; and in conclusion, supplicated the Duke of Burgundy to leave him master of the fate of René, or, at least, to oblige him to return to his

* Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

prison. These reiterated solicitations at last prevailed with Philip, who, finding some of the Count's reasons unanswerable, sent one of his heralds-at-arms to the gate of René's palace, to enjoin him "to return without delay to the Tour de Bar," agreeably to the act of the 6th of April, 1432.*

The rejoicings of his family and subjects upon the decision of the Emperor Sigismond were scarcely over, when Philip's abrupt command was received by René to return to his prison.

The severe mandate struck with dismay the Council of Lorraine, who, in unison with the unhappy Isabella, vainly endeavoured to alter the mind of Philip, or to delay the accomplishment of the cruel sentence. Equally useless were their attempts to picture to this Duke the misfortunes which would inevitably be renewed in their country, which had but just been spared so many miseries—the will of Philip was irrevocable.

The people of Lorraine would have fought for the freedom of René, but it was to no purpose that they urged this noble-minded prince to allow them to do so; his word had been pledged, and he said, "he preferred to submit to the lot which awaited him, rather than endure the dishonour of breaking his word." His sense of honour prevailed over natural affection. Unappalled by a gloomy futurity, he tore himself from the tender embraces of his family, and while hastening to obey this cruel sentence and resume his chains, he seemed to have adopted the saying attributed to his great grandfather, John, King of France—"Que si la foi et la vérité étoient bannies de tout le reste du monde, néanmoins elles devroient se retrouver dans la bouche des rois." Thus did this prince gain the esteem even

* Monfaucon; Moreri; Mezerai; Biographie Universelle; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

of his enemies.* This action of René was the more noble, because at this time he was supported by his relative, Charles VII., by a multitude of his former companions in arms, and especially by subjects who were devoted to him, and thus he was able, had he desired it, to oppose open force to the commands of Philip. This admirable trait of character has, however, been blamed by some authors, who, unable to appreciate his greatness of soul, have beheld in it only a deficiency of courage and weakness of mind.†

René was conveyed again to his prison at Dijon, but a formidable league having been formed to liberate him, it was no longer deemed prudent to let him remain in the Tour de Bar, and they hastened to conduct him to the château de Rochefort.

The lords of Burgundy, hearing that Charles VII. sought to get him removed from the town, came to him, and said, "Sir, you have dwelt here long enough; you must come with us." The Duke replied, "Alas! where do you want to take me to?" To which they answered, "Never mind, we will take you to a good place; we shall make good cheer, and we will live with you." They then conveyed him to Bracon.‡

Again we behold this prince in confinement at the finest period of his life, and separated from all he held most dear in the world, and this also when he had scarcely learnt his power of doing good; he had besides, at this time, lost every prospect of obtaining his freedom.

What sources of reflection must have been presented to him in the caprices of fortune to which he had already been subject; and who, more than this prince, had reason to dwell with sadness on the chain of events which often composes man's destiny, when,

* Sismondi; Biographie Universelle.

† Villeneuve Bargemont. ‡ Chronique de Lorraine.

amidst the gloom of his prison, a kingdom was presented to him in perspective, yet in receiving its crown he was destined to lament the loss of a brother he tenderly loved!

It was during his imprisonment at Bracon that René was visited by the Baron of Montelar, a gentleman of Provence, who was charged to announce to him the death of his brother, Louis III., Duke of Anjou, whose rights and possessions now became the inheritance of the Duke of Lorraine. He was also informed by this baron of the favourable intentions of Queen Joanna towards him, and of the devotion of the people of Provence.

René truly mourned the loss of his brother, which, together with the sad tidings of another bereavement quickly succeeding, much augmented the gloom of his captivity.

Vidal de Cabanis, another gentleman of Provence, arrived at Bracon on the 15th of March, 1435; he came to inform his master of the death of Queen Joanna II. on the 2nd of February, and of her adoption of René, and confirmation of the disposition which his brother had made to him of all his rights to the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem.* After having beheld the last moments of the Queen of Naples, the only offspring of the House of Duraz-Anjou, Vidal had set off in haste in order to instruct René in all the details which might interest him, and above all to depict to him the affection of the Neapolitans for his family—a just and touching homage to the memory of his father, as well as to that of the unhappy Louis III. This testimony of devotion on the part of Vidal de Cabanis much affected René, who embraced his faithful messenger with kindness

1435. Villeneuve Bargemont.

* Moreri; Bodin; Monfaucon; Gaufridi; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont.

and called him his loyal servant. He shed tears afresh for the loss of his brother, lamented the death of Queen Joanna, and endeavoured to understand thoroughly, by means of his faithful ambassador, the actual condition of the kingdom of Naples.

It was difficult for René to calculate on the part which the Court of Rome would take at this juncture between Charles VII., who favoured René, and Alphonso V., the competitor of René. The Pope himself had even been nourishing, in secret, pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The support of this pontiff could not therefore be relied upon.

With much more certainty did René estimate the friendship of the Duke of Milan; he thought he could naturally rely upon his support, since he was doubly allied to him on account of Valentine, Duchess of Orleans, and Margaret of Savoy, whose eldest sister he had married. It was, nevertheless, highly important that he should not be forestalled in the good opinion of Philip Visconti, and also equally necessary that René should show himself in person in Italy, in order not to give time for the zeal of the Neapolitans to abate. René could now see clearly how much his loss of liberty would cost him, but he had no hope of softening the Duke of Burgundy, and the only means he could adopt for the preservation of Naples was to dismiss his consort Isabella very promptly to Provence, and even to Naples, with the unlimited powers of Lieutenant-General. The ambassador himself undertook to go to the Duchess and apprise her of it; he then quitted the fort Bracon, and René became from this time more than ever a prey to anxiety of mind.*

The elevation to the throne of Naples, so unlooked for, yet so flattering to the heart of René, had no influence in procuring his liberation from prison. The

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

Duke of Burgundy was even more urgent than ever, and watchful for the security of his captive. René, perceiving at length that his severity was unabated, dismissed Queen Isabella into Italy, as he had arranged with the faithful Vidal de Cabanis, hoping by this means to preserve in his interests the Pope and the Duke of Milan, to arouse the zeal of the Angevine party, and to overthrow the intrigues of Alphonso, King of Arragon, who still laid claim to the throne of Naples in right of his former election.*

Queen Isabella at this time mourned the loss of her respected mother, Margaret of Bavaria, who had died on the 27th of August in the previous year, at Nanci. After the death of Duke Charles, the widowed Margaret had built an hospital at Einville-aux-jurs (which had been part of her dower), and there she had resided, in the constant exercise of charity, distributing alms liberally to the poor, and serving them with her own hands. Thus had she passed her time to the end of her pious life.†

The virtues of the noble Isabella appear to have been called forth by adversity, justly entitled "the school of heroes." We have now to follow the consort of René in a career in which she displayed a bold and enterprising spirit, and such superior talents as rendered her justly deserving to be ranked among the number of the most illustrious princesses of the fifteenth century. To great political abilities, Isabella, at the age of five and twenty, united a persuasive eloquence, and an exterior affable and imposing. These, added to her natural vivacity and ardour, rendered her capable of engaging in a great enterprise, of conquering its ob-

* Dom Calmet. Monfaucon; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Mezerai, Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

† Margaret of Bavaria was interred in the church of St. George, Nanci, by the side of the Duke of Lorraine, her husband.

stacles, braving its perils, and bringing to her allegiance all such Neapolitans as were still undecided, or opposed to her interests.*

This princess had one great incentive to exertion, one only object in view, in this vast enterprise; but this was dear to her heart, long and earnestly desired —the liberation of her husband from captivity— this it was which nerved her to more than feminine attempts. She despaired of softening the Duke of Burgundy, and her grief at her husband's misfortunes determined her on sustaining his rights, in the hope, however remote, that by fulfilling the wishes of the Provençaux and the Neapolitans, she might hasten the time, or obtain the means, to set her husband free. With these views, Isabella committed the care of her government of Lorraine and of Bar to the Bishops of Metz and Verdun, and prepared for her expedition, while a crowd of lords sued for the honour of accompanying her. Two of her children were at this time absent from her: John, Duke of Calabria,† the eldest, shared the captivity of his father at Bracon, but whether through the favour or severity of the Duke of Burgundy is not known; while Yolande, the eldest daughter of Isabella, had become the pledge of peace with the Count de Vaudemont, and had gone to reside with his Countess. Louis, Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, the second son of Isabella, and Margaret of Anjou, her youngest daughter, only remained with her, to share the dangers or participate in the honours of their mother's enterprise.‡ With these beloved children, this courageous princess set out for Naples. In her way thither she first visited Provence, and was received with transports of joy by the people of

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† This title was inherited by the eldest son of the King of Naples.

‡ Biographie Universelle; Bodin.

Aix. She there convoked a General Assembly of the States, and took oath always to maintain the privileges of the capital and of all Provence. In return she received the homage and oaths of fidelity of that corporation, and of those of the principal cities of the country. The Provençaux had been recently visited by a pestilence, as well as by a long and disastrous war; but during the short visit of Isabella, her prudence, firmness, and the amenity of her manners so gained upon the hearts of the people, that in spite of their misfortunes they evinced the utmost eagerness to supply their new sovereign with men, money, and vessels.

With these supplies the Queen of Naples (for thus henceforth she must be styled) resolved to embark at Marseilles. Upon entering this town, another cordial welcome not a little affected the princess, to whom these public rejoicings manifested the interest they felt for her cause.*

Isabella's first care had been to make herself acquainted with the parties which divided Naples. Her next precaution, before she set sail for the shores of Italy, was to ascertain the dispositions of her allies, and to this end she dismissed the Archbishop of Aix, Amino Nicolai, on an embassy to the Duke of Milan. The venerable prelate was accompanied by three deputies, who had been devoted to Louis III. These, viz., Vidal de Cabanis, Louis de Bouliers, Viscount de Reillanne, and Charles de Castillon, were to bring back the reply of Philip Visconti to Isabella, who, upon receiving it, was to be prepared to set sail for Naples.

It is interesting to behold how Queen Isabella, even at a time when her mind was occupied by these political measures of so much importance in the commencement of her new career,—it is interesting, we

* Biographie Universelle.

say, to regard the tender wife, ever mindful of the smallest things which could divert the melancholy or alleviate the sufferings of her unfortunate husband. Thus having herself admired the picturesque aspect of the castle of Tarascon, (which had been finished by Louis II. of Anjou in the year 1400,) Isabella employed a skilful painter to take a view of it, and then sent the artist with his work to exhibit it to René, at Bracon.

Symptoms of a violent pestilence at Aix had driven the Queen to take refuge in the village of Tarascon, a place separated from Languedoc by the Rhone, and here the appearance of Isabella and her children excited the most lively joy; indeed, wherever they went, the same welcome was manifested. "The people of Tarascon admired the young Prince and Princess as if they had been two angels who had descended from heaven. In the streets, which were decorated with festoons, garlands, and flowers, there were bonfires blazing, songs and public rejoicings; chants of music in the churches, and everywhere continual benedictions."*

Queen Isabella was too impatient to show herself at Naples to wait very long for the return of her ambassadors, and finding they did not appear, she no longer thought it prudent to delay her departure. She gave orders to William de Baux, Lord of Maillane and St. Vallier, to visit in her absence all the posts and fortifications on the coasts of Provence which might require to be defended against the incursions of the Catalonians. On quitting the Provençaux, Queen Isabella expressed in the most lively manner her grief at parting from them, and at leaving her husband and her son in captivity; indeed, so affecting was her farewell, that her new subjects voted by acclamation a sum of 25,000 florins for the ransom of the Duke of Calabria.†

* Chronique de Lorraine. † Villeneuve Bargemont.

The fleet of Queen Isabella consisted of five galleys, armed and equipped at Marseilles, which cast anchor in sight of Frejus about the beginning of October. The Queen took on board the Bishop of that city, Jean Bernaud, who was ambassador of Charles VII. at the Council of Basle, and had been distinguished for his virtues and extensive information. While in full sail for the coast of Frejus, the Queen's deputies from Milan, bringing the most satisfactory despatches, disembarked at Marseilles, and set out again immediately for Naples. After a fortunate passage, Isabella appeared at Gaêta, and was received with the respect due to her as sovereign.

Being informed that in this place many of the partisans of Alphonso had taken refuge, and guided by some treacherous or imprudent counsels, the Queen displaced Ottolini Zoppo, whom the Duke of Milan had made Governor of Gaêta. This act of authority, the consequence of which Isabella did not foresee, afterwards proved highly prejudicial to her interests. She quitted Gaêta, however, in full confidence, and proceeded to disembark at Naples.*

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

CHAPTER II.

"Why, then I do but dream on sov'reignty,
"Like one that stands upon a promontory,
"And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,
"Wishing his foot were equal with his eye,
"And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,
"Saying, he'll lade it dry, to have his way."

SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

Queen Isabella's reception at Naples—Her talents and influence—Rival claims—Alphonso set free—The Queen's successes—New efforts to release René—He is set at liberty—He goes to Tours—Into Anjou and Provence—Thence to Genoa and Naples—His reception—His poverty—His cause declines—Naples besieged—Death of Don Pedro—Alphonso retires—Caldora dies—René visits the provinces—Treason of Antoine Caldora—René's losses—Alphonso renews the siege of Naples—He enters the city—René's bravery—He is defeated—Alphonso triumphant—He is acknowledged by the Pope—René returns to France—A marriage contract—Death of René's mother—Louis of Anjou dies—René at Tours—A treaty of peace with England—Contract of marriage of Margaret of Anjou with Henry VI.

IT was somewhat extraordinary that the two competitors for the crown of Naples, after the death of Queen Joanna, were both prisoners at the same time: René of Anjou being detained in the Tour de Bar by the Duke of Burgundy, and Alphonso of Arragon still a prisoner of Philip Galiezzo, Duke of Milan. When these princes recovered their liberty, the war was resumed with great vigour; meanwhile, it was only through the energy and courage of Isabella of Lorraine that the Angevine cause was sustained in Naples.

The consort of René of Anjou arrived in the Neapo-
1435. litan capital on the 18th of October, 1435, a few months after the death of Joanna II., and found the people strongly predisposed in her favour, not merely

from the choice of their late queen, but more especially from their attachment to Louis III., who, by his great condescension, had won all their hearts.

Queen Isabella was conducted, with her son Louis and her daughter Margaret, to the Capuan castle, the ancient residence of the Angevine princes. In their way thither, they traversed the city under a magnificent canopy of velvet, embroidered with gold; and they were met by a deputation, headed by the Count de Nola, of sixteen lords, nominated by the late queen, who all paid their compliments to their new sovereign, and gave her a most gracious reception.

These lords immediately took their oaths of fealty and obedience to the Angevine queen, and their example was followed by a crowd of barons, while deputations of the various classes of the people pressed forward to welcome her, and proclaim her the Queen; in short, the Neapolitans bestowed the crown on Isabella of Lorraine amidst transports of universal joy.

This excellent princess was far from exulting in the high position to which she had, so suddenly, been advanced; she was but too well aware that with the regal diadem come many responsibilities; and to her, the anticipation of trials and difficulties, which to struggle against and overcome would require the utmost resources of her genius.*

The kingdom of Naples, once so flourishing, was at this time without troops, finances, or even an influential chief. The Neapolitan generals had too often changed sides from caprice or interest; and finally had arrogated to themselves independent authority. Therefore had not Queen Isabella possessed a strong mind,

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Denina; Sismondi; l'Abbé Millot; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

she would have been discouraged by the aspect of affairs; for she had but a small number of generals of approved fidelity, and she was, as yet, only acknowledged in the capital; but her firmness, moderation, goodness, and prudence, soon placed her at the head of a powerful army, and strengthened the devotedness of the nobles and old partisans of the House of Anjou, who already idolized their heroic queen. Certain it is, that had not fortune, in favouring Alphonso, created continually unforeseen misfortunes for René, the conduct of his courageous and enlightened consort would have confirmed for ever the crown of Naples to the Duke of Anjou and his posterity, and this testimony has been given by all impartial historians. The result, however, was unfortunate; and Queen Isabella sustained, with a noble and undaunted spirit, only an unequal contest with Alphonso during three years, at the expiration of which time she was rejoined by the King, her husband.*

The claims of the House of Anjou, which Isabella was so nobly representing, were founded on the adoption of Queen Joanna I.; who, to punish the ingratitude of her cousin, Charles III., had disinherited the branch of Duraz. No descendant of Charles of Anjou now remained, but the line of Duraz was not extinct.

Alphonso, King of Arragon, on the contrary, based his rights upon the choice of Joanna II.; for although his adoption by this princess had been revoked, it was pretended that it was a reciprocal treaty, and that to be annulled the consent of both parties was required. The Spanish king had besides a claim to the Neapolitan throne, anterior to that of the Angevine princes, transmitted by Constance, the daughter of Manfred, to

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

the line of Arragon; and in Sicily, Alphonso already reigned as the nearest heir of the Normans by whom this kingdom was founded.*

With no less right than either of these competitors, Eugène IV. had claimed the crown of this kingdom, which had been enfeoffed to the three Houses of Hauteville, Hohenstauffen, and Anjou; conditionally, that it should return to the Church on the extinction of the legitimate line in these Houses. This happened at the time of Queen Joanna's death, when Eugène IV. immediately announced his rights, but he found it impossible to make this important conquest. Being driven, at length, from the Papal dominions, Eugène resided at Florence, and, while there, he interdicted the two rivals fighting, at the same time forbidding the people to obey them; and he nominated as Governor, in his own name, Giovanni Witteleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, who, no less a soldier than an ecclesiastic, was able to maintain with the sword the rights of the Pope, his master.

It had been the design of Alphonso to anticipate the arrival of the French in Italy, and he speedily organized a large body of Spanish soldiers from Sicily, with which he entered the kingdom of Naples, and was there joined by Giovanni Marzano, Duke of Suessa, and other nobles, with their followers. With these he besieged Gaêta, one of the richest and finest ports on the Mediterranean. The inhabitants had, upon the death of Queen Joanna, invited the Genoese to keep a garrison there, until the legitimate heir to the Neapolitan throne should be acknowledged; and François Spinola had been appointed Commander by

* The illegitimacy of Manfred, however, rendered these claims invalid, as they also became by the number of females who had passed from House to House, as well as by a prescription of an hundred and seventy-five years.—*Sismondi; Denina.*

the Genoese, with Ottolini Zoppo to support him, who was secretary to the Duke of Milan. Thus was the town ably defended, the garrison established, being composed of 300 Genoese soldiers, besides some Milanese troops, who repulsed Alphonso most effectually. This prince also found, that although he was acknowledged as sovereign by many of the Neapolitans, a strong party still remained in favour of King René, which induced the Spanish prince to seek the assistance of Pope Eugène. This pontiff constantly refused him, saying, "that if his claims were as incontestable as he represented, he could commence by laying down his arms, and ceasing to make war."

This answer irritated Alphonso, who immediately sought to show an ardent zeal for the Council of Basle, and wrote to the Pope to engage him to obey its decrees. He then advanced to Rome, and had nearly made himself master of the city, when Witelleschi appeared, and defeated his project.*

The engagement which decided, for the time being, this struggle for power, and in which Alphonso was taken prisoner, occurred on the 5th of August, 1435. In the following October, Queen Isabella arrived at Naples, to the support of the Angevine cause. Most effectually could Pope Eugène have advanced the interests of this Queen, but all his endeavours were rendered useless by the peculiar dangers of his own position, being threatened by the thunders of the Council of Basle, and his own authority contested. Thus, finding his tiara insecure, his conduct became variable, and he finally consulted only his own personal interests.

1435. Sismondi.

The removal of the Governor of Gaêta by Queen Isabella, served as an excuse for the Arragonese

* Eccles. Hist.; Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

faction to raise discontent, suspicion, and division; and after the departure of the Queen, the agents of Alphonso became audacious, and invited Don Pedro, the brother of Alphonso, to land with his troops and take possession of Gaêta, which they did without opposition, and made known their success to Alphonso.*

This prince, meanwhile, had been seeking to prejudice the Duke of Milan, whose prisoner he was, against Isabella. Visconti was a weak, though an affable and generous prince, and when Alphonso had discovered his character, he set to work to aggravate the affront which had been offered by the Queen in the removal of the Governor of Gaêta. When possessed of this place, Alphonso became more bold in his arguments against the Angevines, and exerted himself to prove to the Duke of Milan, that his real interests forbade him to support René. "If he is once acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom, you will soon see," said he, "this prince leagued against you with the ambitious Charles VII. The Alps will be an insufficient barrier to protect you. All Italy will become the object of his efforts, and the Milanese will, doubtless, be the first invaded. You are not ignorant that the Court of France has already discussed whether, even during your lifetime, she should not assert the rights on this principality, transmitted by Valentine of Milan. Remember that the ties of blood are but a vain phantom, that vanishes before interest or ambition; and forget not, that the Duke Galeas, your father (whose sister had espoused the brother of Charles VI.), feared nothing so much as the French. Does Philip then believe he has less cause to dread them?" This representation, made by a prince so eloquent as Alphonso, made so great an

* Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

impression on Philip Visconti, that, adopting without reserve the views of his captive, he gave him his liberty without ransom at the end of the month of October, and previous to their separation, a treaty of alliance was signed between them. The Duke of Milan did not even consult the Genoese on this step, so much was he fascinated by his royal prisoner.*

Alphonso of Arragon, having thus obtained his freedom, hastily quitted Milan. After a short stay in Spain, he went to Gaêta, and arrived there on the 2nd of February, 1436. His presence revived the zeal of his partisans, and attracted to his cause many who had hitherto been undecided. Deputies came also from several neighbouring cities to him, and hoisted his standard; in short, from this time he had every reason to hope for success.

1436. Sismondi.

One error had, however, been committed by Alphonso in concluding his treaty with Philip Visconti, viz., in considering Eugène IV. as one of their enemies. This was impolitic,—and the Pontiff, already disposed to favour René, now decided on recognising him as King of Naples, and sent to Isabella, who needed troops, the same Witteleschi who had been employed previously to take possession of the kingdom in the name of the Church. In April of this year, the Patriarch of Alexandria arrived in the Neapolitan territories, with 4,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 horse, to render assistance to the Angevine queen. They succeeded in taking by assault several fortresses, and encountered Jean des Ursins, Prince of Tarentum, the Arragonese chief, whom they routed, and thus suddenly arrested the efforts of Alphonso.†

This salutary diversion enabled Isabella to drive

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Sismondi.

† Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

away from their strongholds some seditious captains, who, until that time, had contrived to maintain themselves there. The Queen also dismissed the brave Michael Attendolo, with the young prince Louis, her son, to subdue Calabria. Thus, by her activity and wisdom, Queen Isabella speedily prevailed on the people to announce themselves in her favour, and she received the homage of the principal towns in the kingdom. These first successes, and the alliance with Eugène IV.—which Isabella sought to confirm—were celebrated at Naples by demonstrations of the most lively joy. Brilliant tournaments were, for several days, held in honour of the Queen, and jousts, balls, and all the varied amusements customary in that age.* Isabella showed but little satisfaction at these multiplied fêtes, for her mind was pre-occupied by the condition of René, and of Lorraine.

While striving with all her means, as well as with all her heart, for the prompt deliverance of her husband, she supplicated Eugène IV., whose benevolence was never failing, to interest himself in procuring the freedom of René immediately, seeing how much needed as his presence as chief, in order to preserve the union and discipline of the army engaged in his cause. This tender solicitude prevailed with the sovereign pontiff, who attempted to move the generosity of the Duke of Burgundy by representing the extraordinary example of disinterestedness of the Duke of Milan, and by his earnest prayers that the Duke of Anjou might be promptly restored to his family and subjects. This wish had, indeed, become general throughout France as well as Italy, and its expression became more energetic.

In the preceding year, while Queen Isabella was traversing Provence, a meeting had taken place at

* Villeneuve Bargemont ; Bodin ; Godard Faultrier.

Nanci, on the 19th of September, at which were present the Bishops of Metz and Verdun, and the ancient knights; and these engaged, at all sacrifices, to obtain the release of René, and to support him in the conquest of his kingdom. Again, in November of that year, the nobles of Barrois and Lorraine assembled, having taken the resolution to employ their persons and property for the deliverance of their duke.

These affecting details reached even the prison of the unfortunate René, who then thought of making an appeal to the devotedness and generosity of all his subjects. This excited a fresh burst of affection and loyalty, and in reply to his noble confidence, each one taxed himself to the utmost, being willing to contribute, according to his ability, for the ransom of his sovereign. The Regency received from all parts similar offerings and proposals; and one knight in particular, whose name ought to have been recorded in history, not content with expending a sum of 18,000 saluts d'or,* engaged, without reserve, all the fiefs and domains he possessed.

These unquestionable testimonies of affection were made known to the Duke of Burgundy at the same time as the supplications of the Pope, but that prince had become still more inexorable towards René. He even wished to conceal from his captive the constant proofs of affection and loyalty so eagerly evinced for him by his friends and subjects. It appears that all communications, from his people or from Queen Isabella, to the unhappy prisoner were intercepted by the Duke of Burgundy; so that, the more earnest the desire manifested to break his fetters, the closer were they actually drawn, and the more remote appeared the day of his liberation.†

* The salut valued 25 sols.—Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

From this time René was subjected to a discipline more rigid than before, kept in severe restraint, and no longer permitted the indulgence of communicating with any of his family. It was during this solitary confinement in the castle of Bracon, where René, yet in the flower of his age, was languishing in hopeless captivity, being secluded from intercourse with mankind, and receiving no intelligence of those he loved and no succours from his numerous allies, that "believing himself forgotten by everybody," says Duhaillan, and seeking to express a mute but eloquent grief, he painted, very appropriately, round the walls of the chamber where he was immured, and on the glasses, *des oublies d'or*, or wafers of gold, as emblematical of the isolation into which he was plunged. These "*oublies* * or cornets (little horns) of gold," were painted by him with great taste, and disposed at unequal spaces, signifying, by this delicate invention, that his people had consigned him to oblivion. These paintings are still to be seen in the chateau, and are proofs of the skill of René, and of his exquisite taste in the art. † In addition to these, as we are told, René painted several other subjects on the thick walls of his prison, and scarcely knowing how to dissipate the *ennui* which consumed him, he traced there also a great number of sentences, or moral reflections suggested to him by his melancholy situation. ‡

* "On appelle *oublie* une espèce de pâtisserie légère d'une forme spéciale. Dans la phrase sur le roi René, cette expression forme un jeu de mots. Le bon roi donnait au mot *oublie* le sens du latin *oblivium*. L'étymologie véritable d'*oublie* ne se prète guères, il est vrai, à la pensée du bon roi : oublie (petit gâteau) vient de *oblitus*, offert ; mais afin de donner un corps à l'expression de sa pensée, René d'Anjou a joué sur les deux sens si différens des mots *oublie*, gâteau ; et *oubli*, oblivium. Ce jeu de mots est intraduisible en Anglais. Le calembourg était fort en honneur du temps de René, et les blasons en sont pleins."

† Chronique de Provence ; Biographie Universelle ; Dom Calmet ; Nostradamus.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

At length the period arrived when this prince was destined to receive the reward of his fortitude and resignation. The Duke of Burgundy, moved by so many petitions, appeared to be appeased, and on the 11th of April, 1436, sent his Chancellor, Rolin, and Jean de Fribourg, Governor of Burgundy, to acquaint his captive with the conditions of his release. These demands of Philip were so exorbitant, that, when submitted to the Council of Lorraine, they decreed it right to reject them. René, being informed of their resolve, wrote to the Regency that they had merited his esteem, in refusing to sanction a dishonourable treaty; that he would never have signed it himself; and that he would prefer to remain all his life a prisoner, rather than purchase his liberty on conditions so burdensome to his people. "If I die," he added, "in this cruel captivity, he who detains me gains by it only the shame of having thus reated a prince who would not otherwise be his prisoner. For the rest I place my confidence in heaven, and in my just rights."

1436. Villeneuve Bargemont.

After so many disappointments, René happily found that virtue never loses its empire over a generous heart. The noble spirit with which he had protested against an act which he thought injurious to his States, disarmed Philip, and perhaps made more impression on his mind than the persuasions of the Pope, of the Council of Basle, of Charles VII., and of all the princes of the blood, who had all now united to make a last attempt for the liberation of the Angevine prince. To effect their object, these combined powers, in concurrence with the Council of Lorraine, carried forward their negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy, and their efforts were ultimately crowned with success; the treaty being ratified and the royal prisoner set free.

There is much obscurity and contradiction in the writings of this period, some authors asserting that

René quitted Bracon for the Tour de Bar, and that he was afterwards conducted to Lille, where Philip held his court, and where he received the Chancellor, the Duke of Bourbon, and others, and finally concluded the treaty. Other historians have, with more truth, fixed these meetings at Dijon, where Philip was residing on the 4th of November, 1436, and from whence he repaired to Arras; leaving René, guarded by thirty *gens d'armes*, at the château de Talent.

While at Dijon the Duke of Burgundy had shown great favour towards his young cousin; he had evinced great joy at again beholding him, had often admitted him to his table with the Chancellor, Rolin, and in their discourses the principal points of his release were determined. At these interviews Rolin conceived so favourable an opinion of René, that upon his master's departure he offered him his support.

The treaty commenced at Dijon in November, 1436, was terminated at Brussels on the 28th of January, 1437. The ransom of René of Anjou was fixed at 200,000 golden florins (upwards of 83,000*l.*) and the cession of several places; amongst these were the manors of Cassell and of La Motte-aux-Bois, which had been formerly added to the Duchy of Bar as the dower of a princess of Flanders. René engaged to pay 100,000 crowns in the month of May, 1437, and the same sum at Dijon the following year; and the remaining 200,000 whenever he might be in complete possession of the kingdom of Sicily. For security René gave the seal of twenty lords of Lorraine and of Bar, ten of Anjou and Maine, and ten of Provence, and all these lords agreed to become prisoners in the forts of Besançon, Dijon, or Salins, should René forfeit his engagement.

There were other articles of the treaty, which they urged should be mollified, but it was in vain. Philip

further insisted—First, that René should observe a neutrality between the French, the Burgundians, and the English. Secondly, that in order to establish peace between these powers, René's second daughter, Margaret of Anjou, should espouse King Henry VI. of England, without prejudice to the marriage before agreed upon between her sister Yolande and Ferri of Vaudemont.* Thirdly, the Duke of Burgundy required, that, should the sons of René die without male issue, the inheritance of Lorraine should devolve on Yolande, or her heirs, and that this princess should also receive, at her nuptials, a dower, consisting of a large sum of money.

Such were the terms upon which René could alone hope to obtain his freedom; but while the arbiters of the two parties were discussing the amendments in this treaty, at Brussels, the captive prince was transferred anew to the fort Bracon, his son, the Duke of Calabria, being a prisoner, on parole, in the Tour de Bar.

The modifications which René hoped to obtain were prevented by the artifice of the Count de Vaudemont, who contrived, by means of one of his friends, to counteract the generous efforts of the Chancellor, Rolin, and to neutralize his exertions in favour of the Angevine prince.† Thus René was compelled to subscribe to these hard conditions. He made concessions of every kind, and after promising a large sum of money, the cession of several cities, the mortgage of the Duchy of Bar, and even of his own person—after consenting to the marriage of his daughter Yolande, then nine years of age, to Ferri, the eldest son of his enemy the Count de Vaudemont, by which union Lorraine would be restored to the male heir of that family—

* The Pope had granted a dispensation of kindred, for this marriage, on the 3rd of April, 1435.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

after all these engagements, the unfortunate René was liberated.*

The news which René had received from Italy is said to have hastened his termination of this treaty, and after having given his full consent to the conditions, the Duke of Burgundy at first only set him free on his parole, on the 11th of February, 1436; but, if he profited by this authority for some months, René must still have been in apprehension of captivity, since we find that the Duke of Bourbon, the Marshal de la Fayette, Christopher of Harcourt, the Constable of Richemont, and the Count de Vendôme, arrived at Rheims, on the 18th of October, to unite with Renaud of Chartres to obtain the release of René from the fort Bracon. They came to Salins early in November, and on the 7th of that month the Chancellor, Rolin, in their presence, drew up and caused to be signed the act for René's liberation. Finally, this prince departed from his prison of Bracon on the 25th of November, 1436. It being impossible that the enormous sum demanded by Philip could be raised immediately, a number of lords of Lorraine, each having four knights, again offered themselves as hostages, to be confined in one of the towers of Besançon, for one month beyond the expiration of the term granted him. 1436. Godard Faultrier.

The position of René was so sensibly felt, that, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of his finances, he received from King Charles VII., 20,000 florins; from the Bishop of Verdun, 8,000; from the Prince of Orange, 15,000; and a number of persons of less note also contributed to the first payment of his ransom.

After a rigorous captivity of five years' duration, the joy of René on quitting the mountains of Jura may

* Biographie Universelle; Monstrelet; Bodin; Sismondi; Monfaucon; Barante; Villeneuve Bargemont; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Mezerai.

well be imagined; yet even this was not altogether unalloyed, for he had left his son, the young Duke of Calabria, still detained as a hostage in the Tour de Bar. René was accompanied at his departure by the Chancellor, Rolin, as far as Pont-à-Mousson, the princes of France having returned to Charles VII. They afterwards all repaired to the Duke of Burgundy, at Lille, on the 25th of December, in order to ratify this important treaty. René also went to Lille, after a short stay at Pont-à-Mousson, and was present, as well as the Count of Vaudemont, at the Burgundian court upon this occasion. René happily profited by this meeting; for Philip, on the 1st of January, receiving the compliments of the season from René, generously cancelled part of his debt, as a gift, amounting to 200,000 saluts d'or.

Philip then conducted René and the French princes from Lille to the city of Arras, into which he made his entry with the utmost display of pomp and magnificence, surrounded by these princes, and the chief of the nobility of Burgundy, and several of the clergy, one of whom, the Bishop of Liege, had two hundred horses in his suite. Fêtes and rejoicings followed, commemorative of the peace just concluded; and while thus engaged, Philip sought, by various means, to make René forget the melancholy days of his imprisonment; and he gave him a new mark of his generosity, calculated to affect him much. He offered him for his son, the young Duke of Calabria, the hand of Mary of Bourbon, his niece, the daughter of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, a proposal joyfully accepted by René, after which Philip further remitted him 100,000 saluts d'or.*

The first use which René made of his freedom was

* Monfaucon; Villeneuve Bargemont.

to go and return thanks to the States of Bar and Lorraine, for their exertions to procure his release. The chief nobility of these duchies met him at Pont-à-Mousson, where he arrived on the 28th of February, 1437. He consulted with them on the necessities of 1437.
his States, on the subject of his ransom, and other matters. During the course of these deliberations René went to Dijon, and brought back from thence his son, the Duke of Calabria. To those individuals whose devotedness and fidelity had been so eminently displayed towards him, René next proceeded to express, not only in words, but by various acts still in his power, the gratitude of his heart. Amongst these were Erard de Châtelet, Henri de Bar, the Sire de Rodemark, and others, to whom he made gifts of money or property; and to the people of Salins, who had shown so much interest for him, he granted the privilege of passing through his States without being subject to any of the tolls which were established there. The noble liberality of René extended even to his enemies. To the Damoisel de Commercy, (who, ever faithless to his engagements, had been taken with arms in his hands by the Regency, in August, 1436,) this prince gave liberty without ransom. In addition to these benefits, René made provision for the poor, and sought to render stable and uniform the administration of Lorraine. Nor was this prince wanting in his just tribute of gratitude to Charles VII. Leaving all the magnificent fêtes, prepared in Lorraine and at Metz, to celebrate his return, René quitted Nanci, attended by his chief knights, and repaired to Tours, where the King of France was then residing.*

Soon afterwards René proceeded to Angers. Here

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

he again received fresh testimonies of the affection and zeal of his people. It was during his stay in this province that René concluded the marriage of his son John, the Duke of Calabria, with Mary, the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. This union was celebrated in April, 1437, at the city of Angers.* The Duke of Calabria, at this time but twelve years of age, had already shown much aptitude for study, and it was easy to foresee that he would one day be distinguished for his talents and virtues. His education had been first superintended by Henri de Ville, but this prelate died while his pupil was detained in Burgundy. Those whom René selected to succeed him in this office were Jean Mauget, Nicholas of Haraucourt, Jean de Laland, and others, all of them distinguished for their talents and virtues, and especially Palamede de Forbin, who had been attached to the young Duke of Calabria even from his infancy. To the castle of Tucé, near Saumur, René next repaired, and there he passed a few days with his mother, Queen Yolande, now advanced in years. He then visited the other towns of Anjou, and received the oaths of fidelity of his people; after which he departed for Provence, being unable to yield to the wishes of the Angevins for his prolonged stay in their province, the state of his affairs at Naples requiring his presence. †

1437. Villeneuve Bargemont.

After the first successes of Witteleschi, Queen Isabella had flattered herself that she had found a loyal and courageous defender; but no sooner had this general become initiated in the secret of the state, than he abandoned her cause, and by this perfidy the Queen lost those advantages she had with such great difficulty obtained. It was only in Naples that Isabella could hope for support, and she therefore redoubled her in-

* Some writers date this event in 1434.

† Monfaucon; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

stances for the presence and assistance of the King, her husband.*

René had resolved to go to Provence without again visiting Lorraine, where he had made provision for the care of his States. He had committed the government into the hands of the Bishops of Metz and Verdun, and Erard du Châtelet; but it would seem that this gave offence to Antoine de Vaudemont, who doubtless had expected to see his son, Ferri, appointed to the Regency during the absence of his new relative, and that he should himself have unlimited power over this country. His former resentment revived at the want of confidence, as he called it, on the part of René; and instead of promoting peace, he sought only to excite civil dissensions. Such was the condition of affairs when René of Anjou was preparing for his expedition to the kingdom of Naples.

In Provence, René experienced an enthusiastic reception. He entered Arles on the 7th of December, and reached the city of Aix on the 13th of the same month. He soon gained the affections of his new subjects, and they evinced their interest and zeal by supplies of men and money. When he had, with paternal care, provided for the necessities of this country by wise laws and regulations, he went to Marseilles. At this place he received the congratulations of the ambassadors of Pope Eugène, and of the Doge of Genoa, upon his release from captivity; and during his stay at this port, the Genoese sent him a fleet, with which he sailed to Genoa. His arrival was celebrated by a number of fêtes, and René, while thus detained, formed strong ties of friendship with Thomas di Fregosa, one of the most distinguished doges of that republic. At length, with the additional reinforcements given to him at this

1437. Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

* Villeheuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

place, René proceeded to Naples, where he arrived on the 9th of May, 1438.

1438. Papon; Villeneuve Bargemont.

The Neapolitans received their king with enthusiasm. He entered the capital mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned, dressed in royal robes and having the crown and sceptre; the sound of cannon, of church bells, and of the acclamations of the inhabitants (by whom he was acknowledged sovereign), testifying the universal welcome. The renown he had acquired, and the presence of his consort, had procured for him a great interest; but when they beheld the simplicity of his retinue, and discovered that he brought with him only military talents, and not gold, their zeal was sensibly diminished, and their shouts of joy and welcome were succeeded by a mournful silence.* René had indeed purchased his liberty at an enormous ransom; his treasuries were empty, and he had brought no army, and no subsidy, to this kingdom, which was already ruined, and whose revenues were divided amongst factions. Thus his partisans, although charmed by the goodness of his character and his courage, soon perceived that his success depended upon their own exertions, and they suffered their zeal to cool, and the Angevine cause to decline.

René resided alternately at the palace of Queen Joanna, and at the Château de l'Œuf,† where he was soon surrounded by many learned men and artists.‡ Michael Attendolo and Jacques de Caldora specially attached themselves to the service of René, and also Michelotto, who brought him 1,000 horses. These

* Papon, Hist. de Provence; Biographie Universelle; Bodin; Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

† An ancient fortress, with eight towers and a Gothic chapel, built on a rock of an oval shape from whence it took its name. It was here that René presented Isabella with the duchy of Melphe, as a token of his gratitude for her late enterprises.

‡ Sismondi; Godard Faultrier; Hist. Général de Provence.

experienced generals were constantly occupied in exercising in the profession of arms, a certain number of men, whom they employed for him who offered the highest terms. The Carraccioli family were also devoted to René.

On the 9th of August, 1438, René left Naples and 1438.
opened the campaign by Abruzzi, where he obtained possession of Aquila. When informed of the movements of Alphonso, he returned, and beat his squadron near Nola, in the Terre de Labour, but no action took place. He then besieged Castello Nuovo,* a strong fortress, erected by Charles I. of Anjou, for the defence of Naples, and which had long been in the possession of Alphonso.

After these successes, the city of Naples abandoned itself to pleasure. The tournament of Otho Carraccioli was held, one of the most splendid and remarkable amongst the *jeu d'armes* of the age, and so peculiar was it, that it has never been forgotten. It took place at the Castle of St. Elmo, on Lundi-gras, 1438, and a multitude of Angevins, Lorrains, and Provençaux were present.†

The details of this feat of arms are not given, but we are informed that René had awarded two prizes of great value, to excite the skill and valour of the combatants. The first of these, a rose and an *aigrette* of diamonds, was offered by the Queen herself to Otho Carraccioli, who was unanimously proclaimed the victor. The second, a ring set with precious stones, called the *prix d'amour*, was presented by Beatrix de St. Séverin (a young widow whose charms caused her to be styled "*le Soleil des beautés Napolitaines*") to the renowned Otho who gained with *éclat* all the honours of this fête.

* The Castello Nuovo, or Chateau Neuf, still possesses towers, admirably carved, of the thirteenth century.

† Hist. Général de Provence ; Godard Faultrier.

While at Naples, the youthful Margaret was pursuing her education under the care of her accomplished mother, and of Antoine de Salle, her brother's learned preceptor. She thus early acquired knowledge of various kinds, and also the surprising eloquence which distinguished her in her subsequent career. Yet this period of tranquillity did not last long.

René fully justified the high reputation he had acquired at his accession; his campaign in the Abruzzi had added new laurels to his fame, and affairs began to take a new turn. In the spring this prince pursued his conquest of the farther Abruzzi, and while thus engaged, Alphonso, (whose party was daily increasing, and who had returned to Italy with a numerous army,) advanced to the interior of the kingdom, and seized the opportunity to approach Naples, then only defended by the courageous Isabella.

The Spanish prince, in besieging Naples, expected it could not make a long resistance, and the invention of cannon facilitated the attack; but the siege continued a month, when the death of his brother, Don Pedro, and the continuance of heavy rains, obliged Alphonso to raise the siege and fall back on Capua. This unexpected retreat saved the city. The walls having been shaken by the artillery, and also undermined by the waters, fell down of themselves. The breach thus presented was sufficiently large to admit the besiegers, but they did not return to the attack before René arrived to the relief of the city.*

René was now called upon to practise the lessons of wisdom which the Doge had given him. In November of 1439, the brave Jacques de Caldora died, at the age of sixty. His son, Antoine, succeeded him; he received the Constable's sword and the title of Viceroy, but

1439. Papon; Godard Faultrier.

* Hist. Général de Provence; Godard Faultrier.

he did not inherit the zeal or fidelity evinced by his father.*

Upon receiving the order to appear with his forces at Naples to oppose the enemy, the purport of his answer was, that he could not make the army march without money; that to him it seemed necessary that René should show himself in all the provinces in subjection to him, to confirm their fidelity, and to raise amongst them the necessary sums to enable him to contend with his enemy.

To obviate every pretext for disobedience, and being at the same time assured of the loyalty and fidelity of the Neapolitans, René assembled before him the principal amongst them, and, mounted on horseback, in the court of the castle, with about forty French noblemen around him, he addressed them as follows: "Do not believe, my friends, that I have degenerated from the virtue of my ancestors; there is no peril which I would not brave to preserve so flourishing a kingdom, and so many valiant subjects. You know that Antoine de Caldora is master of all our forces. I commanded him to come to our assistance; he has replied, that without money the army cannot march; that it was my interest to go and join him myself; and that, with the funds drawn from the provinces which obey me, I should be able to overcome the difficulties which now arrest me. I am going; I hope soon to return; and shall act in such a manner that this city shall continue what it has ever been, the capital of the kingdom. I commend it to you during my absence; I commend to you also the Queen and my sons, whom I leave in your hands." Saying this he rode off, amidst the acclamations of the Neapolitans, who prayed for his success, and assured him, that "they would die sooner than

* Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Hist. Général de Provence; Mariana.

suffer any banner than his to be established in Naples."

In this expedition René was followed by some young noblemen, who, in their haste, being unable to procure horses, went after him on foot, accompanied by eighty foot soldiers. These, headed by Raymond de Bartlotte, were exposed to many dangers; sometimes in peril of their lives, or of being taken by the bands of Alphonso, while they traversed the country; at other times compelled, in crossing mountains covered with snow, to make new paths for themselves. René also marched on foot, and from time to time, turning to his followers with a gay and cheerful countenance, he told them that "if they partook of his dangers and fatigues, they should also share the fruits of his victory." Thus did he show his condescension and generosity throughout this journey, and rendered himself beloved.

During this difficult march René, one day, while passing through a village, was attacked by some of the peasants, five of whom were secured and brought before him for punishment; but when they threw themselves at his feet to beseech his mercy, he treated them with kindness, and restored them to freedom, graciously adding that, "as a monarch he wished to fulfil all the duties of a monarch, the first of which was clemency; and that, far from destroying any of his subjects, he would be occupied only for their happiness."*

This march of René and his followers was performed in the winter season, and the snow torrents and the ascent of steep mountains greatly impeded his progress, yet he triumphed over these accumulated difficulties, and in spite of a thousand dangers, he finally arrived at Santo Angelo di Scala, a barony belonging

* Hist. Général de Provence.

to Carraccioli, where he obtained shelter and provisions. He afterwards went to Benevento, where the celebrated battle had taken place between Charles I. of Anjou and Mainfroy, in which the former triumphed.* The vigour and energy of René would, we are told, have been crowned with success, in reducing the rebel provinces, but for the treason of Antoine de Caldora, who, having been upon some offence cast into prison by the Angevine monarch, now thirsted for revenge. He ultimately caused the unpopularity of René, for the other generals followed the example of Caldora, and being bribed by the agents of Alphonso, and discontented at the poverty of René's court, they changed sides. A great part of the army of René revolted, and the loss of a galley from France, bearing large sums of money, precipitated his ruin.

The siege of Naples was renewed, in the meantime, by Alphonso, who gained Pozzuoli. René returned in haste to the city, but while approaching it, disaffection appeared amongst his troops. The treason of Caldora was perceived; he had been distributing the gold of Alphonso. Upon this, the Italians, touched by the misfortunes of René and aroused by one of those changes of feeling so natural to that people, swore to bury themselves with their leader beneath the walls of Naples; yet such was their levity, that they subsequently abandoned him. The burst of loyalty, however, for the moment revived a gleam of hope, and Fregosa, the illustrious Doge of Genoa, engaged to support the Angevine monarch, who, shut up in Naples, (even while a frightful famine prevailed there,) was preparing to defend himself to the last extremity, sending back to Provence his consort Isabella, and his children.† This step was greatly

1441. Godard Faultrier.

* Godard Faultrier.

† Hist. Général de Provence; Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Mariana.

prejudicial to René's cause, the people interpreting that he had but little hope of preserving the kingdom. The populace too often exhibit a natural disposition to regard things in the worst point of view, in short, to look to the dark side; wherefore reputation, in war-like matters, contributes infinitely to success.

René had so secured to himself the love of the people of Naples, that they were willing to undergo many privations and dangers for his sake, especially when they beheld him so willingly participate in their sufferings.

The hopes of the besieged rested on Count Sforza, who had been earnestly solicited by René to come to his aid. This general was still at the head of a
1442. flourishing army, and he set out in January, 1442, to defend or reconquer the fiefs he had inherited in the kingdom of Naples. In this expedition, however, he was so unsuccessful that before the expiration of the year, he no longer possessed a single fief of all those which his father had acquired with so much labour and such numerous victories. In the details of this war it would appear that the conduct of the Pope, which was in contempt of a sworn peace, occasioned the defeat of Sforza, and thus deprived René of his last hope of the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.* Alphonso had obtained possession of Capria, Gaëta, Aversa, and Acerre. A fresh treason soon gave him the command of the capital.

After he had provided for the safety of his family, the courage of René seemed to be aroused. He gave his orders with energy, and going with activity from place to place in the town, he divided with his people the small store of provisions which remained to them. These were, however, insufficient for their necessities, and hunger pressed hard upon them; at last, one

* Daniel; Mariana.

poor widow was refused bread. In her despair, this woman ran to the conduit-maker, Annello, who was a partisan of Alphonso, and told him of a subterranean passage, by which the Spanish troops could enter the town. This news was conveyed by Annello to Alphonso, who despatched some of his generals with 250 soldiers, under the guidance of Annello. These Arragonese invested the capital by night. Their guide enabled them to introduce themselves with lighted torches, at midnight, through the same aqueduct which, nine centuries before, had enabled Belisarius to obtain possession of the city. When René was informed that his enemies had penetrated into the town, he ran in great haste to the combat, but the darkness increased the confusion. The walls were scaled, and a desperate fight ensued. René fought bravely, for he still had hopes; but the gates were forced in, and the Arragonese columns, one after another, rushed into the city. Thus was Naples taken by Alphonso, while the Angevine prince, in the midst of a thousand dangers, had only time to escape, sword in hand and with his horse covered with blood and foam, to the Château-Neuf. This was his only retreat on the fatal night of the 3rd of June, 1442.*

1442. Godard Faultrier; Mariana; Daniel.

After this catastrophe, the faithful Genoese offered their vessels to René, who, having no longer any resource, availed himself of this means to make a hasty retreat into France.

Two days after his defeat, René embarked. He sailed first to Porto Pisano, and from thence went to Florence to complain to Pope Eugène IV. of his want of faith. This pontiff, to console him, gave him the investiture of the kingdom which he had just been compelled to abandon. In the vain contest for this kingdom René had experienced the treacherous and

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Mariana; Daniel.

selfish desertion of his numerous allies. After the capture of Aversa all the very powerful and wealthy family of Caldora went over to Alphonso, and the army of Sforza, sent to his aid by the Duke of Milan, was beaten near Troya, in Apulia. Thus Alphonso gained the ascendancy, and René was compelled to yield the field to his adversary, who founded the line of Arragonese kings in Naples upon claims more splendid than just.*

About the same period that the Spanish monarch was engaged in the capture of Naples, a league had been formed by Pope Eugène, the Venetians, Florentines, and Genoese, to drive out the Arragonese from all Italy; but this enterprise failed, owing to the want of unity amongst their forces; and after the departure of René, the conqueror became possessed of the whole of the kingdom. Alphonso made a triumphal entry into Naples; and being earnestly desirous of a reconciliation with Pope Eugène, he prevailed on him to acknowledge him the following year as king, and also his son Ferdinand as his successor.†

From Florence René repaired to Genoa, where he experienced a friendly reception from the Doge, Fregosa. He then proceeded to Marseilles, and after an absence of four years and a half, arrived there at the
1442. end of the year 1442.‡

The general testimony of historians is, that René of Anjou, although so unfortunate in the issue of his enterprise in Italy, "had perfectly fulfilled all the duties of a valiant soldier and a skilful general." At this period even he felt that he could not, and ought not, to renounce all hope; and he, therefore, sent into

* Bodin; Mariana; Hallam; Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

† Mariana; l'Abbé Millot.

‡ Daniel; Godard Faultrier: Eccles. Hist.

Italy, Vidal de Cabanis and Charles de Chatillon, in order that they should send him such intelligence as might be favourable to his future interests.

Many troubles had arisen in Lorraine during René's expedition into Italy; the prince did not, therefore, prolong his stay in Provence. Being, however, desirous of visiting the principal cities, he went to Tarascon at the commencement of February, 1443. At this place René received William Haraucourt, Bishop of Verdun, Pierre de Beaufremont, Seigneur Charny, and Antoine de Gaudei, the secretary of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been sent by this prince to negotiate the marriage of his nephew, Charles, Count of Nevers, with the second daughter of René, Margaret of Anjou. 1443. Villeneuve Bargemont; Dom Calmet.

This princess had nearly attained her fourteenth year, and already gave indications of those personal charms and mental qualifications for which she was afterwards so much distinguished; and these, doubtless, had great influence in fixing the choice of her new suitor. The Count of Nevers had been affianced to Jane of Bar, daughter of Robert of Bar, Count of Marche, and afterwards had been on the point of marrying the Duchess of Austria, but finally he decided in favour of Margaret of Anjou.

Both René and his consort, Queen Isabella (who had arrived at Tarascon), eagerly accepted these proposals, and the contract of marriage was signed on the 4th of February, 1443.

René agreed to give with his daughter the sum of 50,000 livres as her dowry, and the Duke of Burgundy guaranteed to settle upon her a jointure of 40,000 livres; but René, on his side, wished that in consideration of this alliance the Duke would forego the 80,600 ecus d'or, which he owed him, and for which he held, as security, the cities of Neufchâteau, Preny,

and Longuy. The Duke, at length, consented to remit that sum, and the interests, in consideration of a reasonable indemnity, and upon this, René, as an equivalent, gave up Clermont, Varennes, and Vienne, in Argonne. There was one clause, however, inserted, which gave infinite displeasure to the Count de Vaudemont. It declared that the children of Margaret should be heirs of Sicily, Provence, and Bar, to the exclusion of the children of Yolande, her eldest sister, who was affianced to Ferri de Vaudemont, the son of Antoine; yet with a reservation, that, if Yolande should marry a second time, the male children of that alliance should exclude the descendants of Margaret from the paternal succession, in reservation of the duchy of Bar, to which they were legally entitled. King René could not possibly have marked in a more decisive manner the displeasure he felt against the House of Vaudemont. This arrangement was bitterly complained of by both father and son, and the former carried his complaints to King Charles, the arbiter and guarantee of the late treaty which had fixed the pretensions of the two houses. Charles VII. then demanded reparation of René, and even threatened to take up arms should he oppose the treaty of 1441. Antoine still claimed René as his prisoner, and King Charles referred the affair to the Parliament, the proper judge of the Duke of Burgundy; but he reserved to himself that which related to the said treaty. Thus was the marriage of the Count of Nevers deferred, and ultimately its accomplishment prevented, for while these questions were agitated, another, and a more irresistible offer was made for the hand of the Princess Margaret.*

1443. Villeneuve Bargemont.

The rest of this year, 1443, was passed by René either at Aix or Marseilles, where he devoted himself to the administration, and especially to the most

* Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

effectual means to prevent the landing of the Arragonese forces. While at Marseilles, René received intelligence of the death of his mother, Yolande of Arragon, Queen Dowager of Sicily. She died on the 14th of December, 1443, at the Castle of Saumur,* and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Maurice, at Angers. The life of this princess had been distinguished by a multitude of acts of piety and benevolence, and the Provençaux, who had been acquainted with her virtues and estimable qualities, sincerely united in the just regrets of their sovereign.†

At the time of the departure of René for Naples, the Count de Vaudemont had felt offended, for two reasons: first, because he did not form one of the Regency Council, and next, at the reports circulated of the King's repugnance to grant his daughter Yolande to his son, Ferri. Being apprehensive lest this princess should be taken away from him, or, perhaps, embittered against René's ministers, he collected his troops, encouraged the incursions of the rebels, and even took great numbers of them into pay, and enticed to his party Robert de Sarrebruche, who was ever ready to break his oaths.‡ Thus hostilities commenced, and Antoine and the Regency were alternately conquerors at this period, which was signalized by pillage, conflagration, and murderous combats. Charles VII. at length resolved to put an end to these excesses, and summoned the parties to appear before him; at first, they apparently submitted to the conditions this monarch imposed, but the war again broke out with increased fury.

At this period Louis of Anjou, having been appointed 1443,
Lieutenant-General, entered Lorraine. He found the

* The castle of Saumur had been granted to Queen Yolande, as part of her dowry, in order that she might pass there the remainder of her days.

† Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

country devastated by bloodshed and civil contention, and he was compelled at once to take decisive measures. Although only twelve years of age, he defended with vigour the town of Bar, caused the siege to be raised, and compelled Robert de Sarrebruche to capitulate in the citadel of Commercy; but while the laurels of victory were thus gathering on his youthful brow, death suddenly deprived the country of this hero of noble promise.

Louis, Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, expired, after a
1444. short illness, in 1444,* and had not the happiness of again beholding his father, who was preparing to come to Lorraine, to endeavour by his presence to terminate the troubles of his people. René, however, subsequently abandoned this intention, either through the grief he felt on his son's death, or from his anxiety to defend his province of Anjou from the attacks of the English, who had been making great progress in Maine.

Louis de Beauvau having been dismissed with unlimited powers into Lorraine, René set out for Poitiers, to rejoin the King of France, while Queen Isabella departed for Nancy.

King Charles VII. and René afterwards proceeded together to the city of Tours, where they arrived at the same time as Charles of Orleans, who had just reappeared at the French court, after many years of captivity in England. It was here that this prince, so renowned for his mental accomplishments and poetic talents, for the first time beheld René, and they contracted an intimate friendship, the constancy of which shed many charms on their subsequent lives. René also found himself in the presence of all his old companions in arms, and he again resigned himself to his taste for

* Louis died, it is believed, in January, 1444, but the precise date is not recorded. He was interred in the church of St. Antoine, Pont-à-Mousson.

fêtes, which had only been interrupted, or laid aside, whilst he engaged in his warlike expeditions. The whole court rejoiced at his coming, for he was known to be a prince who loved pleasure, and brought in his train men of wit and amusement. *

The presence of René at Tours was of great service to King Charles, who, upon the occasion of the treaty of peace with England, about to be concluded, specially charged this prince with the care of directing this important affair.

René first obtained a truce for eight months, and he then discussed with consummate skill their reciprocal interests, thus striking at the root of the negotiation, and by his firmness and clear perception, contrived to terminate the disagreements which might have occasioned a new war. Many were the conferences held with a view to establish a permanent peace, but so many difficulties arose that it was found to be impracticable, and only a truce was agreed upon, the terms of which were dated the 21st of May, 1444. 1444. Monstrelet.

During the course of this negotiation, in the month of April, a proposal was made on the part of England, which apparently altered the position of René, and ought to have consoled him for his late misfortunes. This was a treaty of marriage, proposed by the Duke of Suffolk, between his master, King Henry VI., and Margaret of Anjou, the second daughter of King René.†

The satisfaction of René may readily be imagined, for such a measure could not have been anticipated, since the King of England was, at this time, considered as all but betrothed to the daughter of the Count of Armagnac, and this new offer seemed also to remove every prospect of a fresh dissension between the two

* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet.

kingdoms, and placed the daughter of René in a rank the most flattering to the ambition of a father.

The only dowry exacted by King Henry was the cession of the rights, transmitted to René by Yolande of Arragon, on the kingdom of Minorca. He renounced the rest of her succession, and he restored the town of Le Mans to Charles of Anjou, and to René all his possessions which had been taken from him by the English.*

By this marriage, which was willingly agreed to by all parties, and soon after concluded, the House of Anjou-Plantagenet was, after the lapse of several centuries, united, on the throne of England, to the Second House of Anjou-Sicily.†

* Villeneuve Bargemont. † Godard Faultrier.

CHAPTER III.

KING HENRY.—"Was ever king that joy'd an earthly throne
"And could command no more content than I?
"No sooner was I crept out of my cradle,
"But I was made king, at nine months old;
"Was ever subject long'd to be a king,
"As I do long and wish to be a subject?"

SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

King Henry V.—His death and will—The characters of Bedford and Gloucester—Quarrels of Gloucester and Beaufort—Losses in France—Death of the Duke of Bedford—Contests in the Cabinet—The influence of Cardinal Beaufort—Education and character of Henry VI.

PREVIOUS to the attempt to delineate the character, and narrate the eventful career of Margaret of Anjou, it will be advisable to take a slight survey of the English court; that stage whereon she was destined to act so conspicuous a part, and where her conduct, it has been said, involved the happiness of almost all her adherents, leading to contentions, civil warfare, and to the misery of herself and family. That these unhappy results emanated from the misrule of the Lancastrian queen may, however, be disproved by patient inquiry into the facts of history, even amidst the confusion of the records of turbulent times, rendered almost contradictory through the party spirit of historians.

It will be found, that, far from being the cause of so much misery, Margaret was herself misguided and unhappy; the victim of the intrigues of designing men, already at variance in their country, to which she came as a stranger, yet where her high talents, and the noble qualities of her mind and heart, alone enabled

her, subsequently, to maintain her position as sovereign. Neither did she succumb to her adverse fortunes, until she had proved, to the utmost, her heroism and devotion to her husband and his country.

1422. Eccles. Hist. Henry V., the conqueror of Agincourt and one of the greatest heroes of his age, held, for a brief period, the sceptre of England with an able and vigorous hand; for he had gained renown by other than military skill, and had evinced the greatest endowments and good qualities. In the prime of life, however, and in the midst of his victories in France, he was seized with sudden illness, which caused his death; and he left his crown to an infant son, nine months old.

It was the destiny of this little prince, Henry VI., to lose all the foreign conquests of his warlike sire, who, as if apprehending misfortunes, had taken many wise precautions for the futurity of his infant son.

On his death-bed Henry V. conjured his nobility assembled around him to remain united, in order to preserve the interests of his son, whose education he intrusted to the care of the Earl of Warwick, and appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and his youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England, during his son's minority. He recommended them also to cultivate the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy, and to offer him the Regency of France. His advice also was, that they should retain their prisoners of war until his son should be able to judge of their disposal himself, and on no account should they make peace with the French, unless by the surrender of Normandy they could obtain an equivalent for their losses.* Such were the commands of the dying monarch, who was so much beloved, respected, and admired. How prudent were these injunctions, but how soon disregarded

* Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Howel; Rymer's Fœdera.

by his relatives and subjects! Private passions and individual prejudices too often arise to overthrow the wisest plans of human foresight.

Shortly after the remains of Henry V. were consigned, with the utmost pomp, to their last earthly resting-place, a division took place in the English Cabinet. Objections were raised to the Regency of the Duke of Gloucester, whose uncle, Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, directing a search into precedents, declared the claims of Gloucester were unconstitutional. The Council, however, wished to conciliate the Duke, who strongly urged his right from his relationship to the crown, and his brother's will appointing him to that office, more especially from the absence of the Duke of Bedford in France, but in vain; he was made "Protector" of England in the absence of Bedford, and thus advanced to a dignity which commanded respect but conferred no real authority. 1422. Lingard; Hume.

All real power was vested in the Council of Regency, at the head of which was the Bishop of Winchester. This ambitious and grasping prelate appears to have commenced from this time an incessant rivalry, and a great contest for power, with his nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, who naturally felt depreciated and continued to struggle against his adversary. Thus, during the infancy of Henry VI., the influence of these two powerful individuals alternately swayed the Council of England, rendering her measures ineffective or abortive, and eventually, most disastrous.

The nation had appeared to acquiesce in the arrangement for the Protectorate. Gloucester, however, from this period ceased to regard his uncle as a friendly kinsman, but rather as one who consulted his own private interests at the expense of his relatives and his country.

In France, the Duke of Bedford, who was an ac-

complished and able prince, sustained the interests of his nephew, prosecuting the war with vigour, supported by many skilful generals. Numerous towns and castles were taken, and finally, a decisive victory gained at Verneuil.*

These rapid successes of the English soon reduced King Charles VII., (who had just acceded to the throne,) to the most desperate condition. He could not maintain his troops, or the splendours of his court, and at last found himself unable to procure even the necessaries of life for himself and the few who remained attached to his person.

Suddenly a new phase was presented in the drama, and strange and unexpected events occurred to revive the spirits of Charles. These were the mission of Joan of Arc, and the recall of the Duke of Bedford to England.†

It was to interpose and accommodate in the dissensions of Gloucester with his uncle Beaufort, that the Regent was compelled to abandon the scene of action in France, where he had been so prosperous.

The Duke of Bedford was no less prudent in council than valiant in the field. Endowed with superior genius, and the perfect master of his own passions, he found little difficulty in adjusting the differences of his kinsmen. His brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was possessed of eminent virtues and talents, to which he added such extensive information in science and literature as would have placed him on an equality with the Duke of Bedford, had not his inordinate ambition and violent passions caused him to commit errors which gave his enemies the

* Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Rymer's Fœdera; Howel; Barante.

† Holinshed; Rymer's Fœdera; Barante; Mezerai; Anquetil; Milles's Catalogue.

advantage. He was also censured for his haughty demeanour, yet he was the universal favourite of the people, and when deprived of power in the Cabinet he took part with the ancient nobility, in whose neglect and discontent he, in some degree, shared. The members of the Council were ever watchful to prevent this duke's assumption of authority, and as they knew he could not displace them, they were not afraid of offending him. In time, a confederacy was formed against him, headed by the Bishop of Winchester.

The exertions of Gloucester to reform the Church, and thus to humble his opponents, involved him in many quarrels with them, in which they gained the advantage through the hasty temper of the Duke.

The Duke of Gloucester had also imprudently married the Countess of Hainault, and in the attempt to secure her inheritance he had employed some troops sent to the Regent for the war in France; he had, likewise, involved himself in a personal quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy, whose alliance and friendship were much required in the prosecution of the French war. In all these matters, in which the interests and welfare of the country were involved, the Duke of Bedford was compelled to mediate. At first his remonstrances, and those of the Council, were ineffectual, so incensed was Gloucester by his dispute with his uncle, the Bishop, which had indeed risen to a great and dangerous height.* 1425. Holinshed.

Early in the contest for supremacy between Gloucester and Winchester, the people of London had taken part with the former, who was their favourite, but this interference had been resented by the latter, who caused many persons to be accused of treason

* Rapin; Carte; Baker; Holinshed; Sharon Turner; Fabian; Barante; Life of Chicheley; Pol. Vergil; Eccles. Hist.

and thrown into prison. This gave rise to murmurs and complaints against the arbitrary measures of the Bishop, who, to suppress the spirit of rebellion, garrisoned the Tower, and ordered Sir Richard Wideville "to admit no one more powerful than himself."

This step, which exhibited the great power of the clergy at this time, excited the highest displeasure in the Duke of Gloucester, who, on returning from abroad to take up his residence in the Tower, was refused admittance. His first impulse was to resent this affront by closing the city gates against the Bishop of Winchester, and he next applied to the Lord Mayor for an escort of five hundred men, to conduct him in safety to the King at Eltham. The Bishop, finding the city gates closed, attempted to force his entrance, and then barricaded the road with his numerous retinue, to prevent the egress of the Duke. In this hostile position, the effusion of blood seemed inevitable; but a temporary pacification was, with great difficulty, effected, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Coimbra, a prince of Portugal, who were obliged to ride eight times in one day between the offended parties. The complaints of the two parties were finally referred to the arbitration of the Duke of Bedford.

To such a height had the differences of these distinguished adversaries attained, that the general peace and welfare of the capital was in imminent danger; the shops were closed, all traffic obstructed, and the citizens were obliged to keep watch and ward to prevent the evil consequences which the hostile appearance of the partisans in this quarrel hourly threatened.

The Regent was thus compelled, by a hasty summons from the Bishop of Winchester, to abandon his important conquests in France, in order to adjust these

petty dissensions at home, at a time when, after the victory of Verneuil, the forces of King Charles might have been effectually crushed.*

The Duke of Bedford could not approve of the hasty and passionate conduct of his brother; neither was he satisfied with the interference of the citizens of London, towards whom he evinced his displeasure. He gave orders for a meeting of peers at St. Alban's, and also for a Parliament at Leicester, whither the members were commanded to repair unarmed; but such was the animosity of the two parties that there was great difficulty in enforcing these orders.

The Duke of Gloucester came forward in Parliament with a personal accusation against his opponent, comprised in six articles, four of which related to personal grievances; and in one of these the Bishop was accused of attempting the life of the Duke on his way from London, by placing armed men on the road to assault him. Of the other two accusations, the first charged that prelate with having garrisoned the Tower, with intent to get the young King into his power; in the last it was intimated that the late King had accused the Bishop of an attempt on his life, and of having instigated him to dethrone the King, his father. Of these last charges the Duke of Bedford readily acquitted his uncle; for the favour with which Beaufort had always been distinguished by Henry V. was sufficient testimony of his innocence. Finally, the eight lords, who had been chosen as arbitrators on this occasion, succeeded in persuading the Bishop of Winchester to make an apology to the Duke, and thus effected a reconciliation.

The differences also of the lords who had taken part with these powerful adversaries were, in their turn, adjusted, and peace and unanimity restored. This

* Sandford; Barante; Rymer's Fœdera; Baker; Anquetil.

was a cause of great rejoicing to all who loved tranquillity; and to commemorate the general pacification, King Henry caused a solemn feast to be made on Whit Sunday, at Leicester. The little monarch, then but four years of age, was knighted by his uncle, the Regent of France; after which the King knighted forty of his attendants. At the same time King Henry created Richard Plantagenet (son and heir of the Earl of Cambridge) Duke of York, restoring him to his family estates and honours; and also advanced John, Lord Mowbray, to the dukedom of Norfolk. These first acts of Henry VI., which doubtless emanated from the Duke of Bedford (the King being so young at this time), were acts of clemency and forgiveness much in accordance with the weak character evinced by Henry in his subsequent life. The father of the Duke of York, the Earl of Cambridge, had been beheaded for treason, and Thomas Mowbray, the father of the Duke of Norfolk, had suffered banishment for a similar offence; yet notwithstanding, their estates and titles were restored on this occasion.

These favours, however, proved to be ill-judged, since ultimately the conduct of these two noted individuals, who obtained great influence in the kingdom, turned to the ruin of King Henry and all the Lancastrian party.*

The Bishop of Winchester had only been required by the arbitrators to make a slight apology to the Duke of Gloucester, yet his conduct appears to have called forth universal disapprobation. He was either required or permitted to resign his chancellorship, and it was a long time before he recovered the influence which this exposure occasioned him to lose. Upon his resignation, he requested permission to travel; but he neverthe-

* Holinshed; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Monstrelet; Cobbett's Trials; Thorsby's Leicester.

less remained in England until the next year, and then he accompanied the Duke of Bedford to the Continent, where he received the intelligence that Pope Martin had created him a cardinal. At Calais he was invested with the insignia of that dignity in the presence of the Duke of Bedford and his court.* 1429. Holinshed; Lingard.

The ambitious designs and intriguing disposition of Beaufort had been exposed by his nephew Gloucester, who was no less suspected by the Cardinal of the intention of making himself independent of the Council. From this time his conduct was watched, and the members of the Council, influenced by Beaufort, were employed to disappoint and thwart the views of the Duke, who became irritated and impatient under this continued opposition and the failure of his projects. His union with the Countess of Hainault being declared invalid by the Court of Rome, Gloucester, as if regardless of the censure of the world, married Eleanor Cobham, daughter of Lord Cobham of Sterborough, who had long lived his mistress, and was no less remarkable for her dissolute life than for her great beauty.

The defection of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, with other causes, operated against the English in their subsequent wars in France, where Bedford and the generals who supported him, struggled on to preserve their acquisitions rather than to achieve the complete conquest of that kingdom.†

In England, whither the Bishop, now Cardinal of Winchester, had returned, the former contests and rivalry were renewed between the Duke of Gloucester and that prelate. In the latter no favourable change had been effected by his new dignity of cardinalate.

* Rapin; Baker; Sandford; London Chron.; Holinshed; Villaret.

† Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Barante; Mezerai; Anquetil; Pol. Vergil; Rymer's Fœdera.

Henry V., it is said, had withheld this high office from his uncle, knowing his insatiable ambition, and the pride which such distinction might excite in him.*

Beaufort was, indeed, naturally of an intriguing disposition, and had great abilities and experience united to love of power, and thirst of gain. The wealth which accrued to him from the cardinalate enabled him to obtain greater influence in the kingdom than ever, so that he even appeared to be the only wealthy individual, so much did his riches exceed those of others. He was called "the rich Cardinal," and his ambition instigated him to take the sole direction of public affairs.

As the power of Beaufort increased that of Gloucester decreased. This became apparent in the reduction of the Duke's salary as Protector from eight thousand marks to five thousand, and then to four thousand. Afterwards, the coronation of the young King, which took place on the 6th of November, 1429, entirely suppressed the Protectorate and established the authority of Beaufort.†

1429. Holinshed; Baker.

The education of Henry VI. had been first intrusted, by the Council of Regency, to the Duke of Exeter and the Bishop of Winchester, his great uncles, who were named his governors; but after the death of the former, in 1424, Beauchamp,‡ Earl of Warwick, had been appointed to fill this high office. The late monarch, at his death, had given the highest testimony of his respect for, and confidence in, the Earl of Warwick, by appointing him to be tutor to his son until he attained his sixteenth year. For some time this earl remained in France, and continued engaged in the war there; but afterwards Parliament confirmed the dispo-

* Holinshed; Barante; Rapin.

† Sharon Turner.

‡ The name Beauchamp was derived from "Bello Campo." Hugh de Beauchamp, the first of this noble family, came over from Normandy at the time of the Conquest.

sitions of the King, and Warwick entered upon his new office in England.

The rigid discipline and coercive instructions enforced by this nobleman procured from the young and delicate prince only an unwilling obedience to his commands, while indeed they were ill calculated to strengthen and expand a mind naturally weak, and which, like the tender plant, too often displays by its growth the ignorance, or the unskilful hand of the cultivator. Indeed it has been said of King Henry VI., "that he was a monarch early taught to weep."*

The policy of the Duke of Bedford induced him, under his late severe losses in France, to bring over the young king. He hoped, by procuring his coronation in Paris, to recover somewhat of his own influence in that kingdom, and to arouse the energies of those who still regarded the English monarch as their lawful sovereign.

At eight years of age Henry VI. was accordingly crowned king of both realms; and the genius of the age was employed to invent amusements for the royal child, in whom some traced a fancied resemblance to the hero of Agincourt, while others prognosticated that his reign would be no less splendid than happy. Alas! these were idle visions; and Henry's career far more resembled the day which dawns amidst sunshine and joy, and closes in clouds and tears.

There were present at this coronation, which was performed by the Cardinal of Winchester, in the church of Nôtre-Dame, on the 17th of December, 1430, the Archbishop of York, the Dukes of Bedford, York, and Norfolk, the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford, and other noblemen. 1430.

In the midst of the feasting and rejoicing attendant

* Baker; Sandford; Holinshed; Biograph. Britannica; Lingard; Howel; Barante; Monfaucon: Eccles. Hist.; Rapin.

on this event, the Cardinal of Winchester gave great offence to the Duke of Bedford by arrogating to himself the first place in the kingdom, and desiring him to lay aside the title of regent during the stay of the King in France. Such was the disgust conceived by Bedford at this, that he would not again favour the views of the Cardinal. By some it has even been asserted that it was this difference which gave rise to the subsequent divisions amongst the English nobility.

During the period of the King's absence for his coronation in France, Richard, Duke of York, was appointed constable of this realm, and it was thought that it might have been this which gave to the nobleman (who had just been restored to his family estates and titles) a foretaste of power, and made him afterwards so ambitious of regal authority.*

The return of Henry VI. to England was welcomed with great joy by the nation. Splendid pageants were exhibited in London by the people, who sought by every means to show their attachment to the heir of King Henry V. and of the race of Plantagenets, who had been the first of their sovereigns to be crowned King of France. The great exultation and pride of the nation exhibited on this occasion was afterwards powerfully contrasted with the melancholy chain of events in this monarch's reign. Never, perhaps, did Dame Fortune prove herself so fickle as in her mock promises to the young King of England, in bestowing on him "riches, prosperity, and long life;" for not one of these did Henry of Windsor enjoy.

1435. Baker; Howel; Pol. Vergil. This year, 1435, Isabella, Queen of France, died, and soon afterwards the Duke of Bedford. His death gave a mortal blow to the successes of the English in

* Holinshed; Sandford; Rymer's Fœdera; Milles's Catalogue; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Howel; Lond. Chron.; John Rous; Barante; Eccles. Hist.; Monfaucon; Baudier; Godard Faultrier.

France. Bedford had been a prudent prince, of great experience in arms and government, and much feared by his enemies. The Earl of Warwick was judged the only person capable of repairing his loss. He was therefore discharged from the care of the person of the King, and being made Lieutenant-General of France and Normandy, the highest honour which could be conferred upon an English subject, he was dismissed to fulfil his office.* Warwick took with him his wife and son, and was attended by a peculiar officer-at-arms, called "Warwick Herald," who received from the Earl an annuity of ten marks.

Some successes attended this earl at first, but he did not long enjoy his newly conferred dignity. He died at Rouen, in April, 1439.† 1439. Ba.ante.

After the treaty of Arras, the Duke of Burgundy sent letters of remonstrance to induce King Henry VI. to make peace with France, and to explain his own motives for renouncing his former alliance.

When these letters were read aloud in the Council, they excited much surprise, and the young King was so much affected at their contents "that his eyes were filled with tears, which ran down his cheeks." He exclaimed, "that he plainly perceived, since the Duke of Burgundy had acted thus disloyally towards him, and was reconciled to his enemy, King Charles, that his dominions in France would fare the worse for it."

Upon this the Cardinal and the Duke of Gloucester abruptly left the Council, much confused and vexed; and their example being followed by others, no deter-

* Holinshed; Baker; Anquetil; Barante; Hume.

† The Earl of Warwick had by his second countess, one son, named Henry, and one daughter, Anne. The Countess of Warwick retired, on the death of her husband, to the monastery of Southwick, in Hampshire; but survived the earl only a short time. She died on the 24th of June, 1439, and was interred in the abbey of Tewkesbury, which she had founded.—*Pol. Vergil; Barante; Biograph. Britannica.*

mination could be agreed upon. The parties collected again in small knots, and abused each other as well as the Duke of Burgundy. Nor were the populace less lavish of their opprobrious epithets upon that Duke and his country, and even collected in bodies, seeking for obnoxious foreigners, whom they ill-treated, and even murdered some of them before the tumult was appeased. When the Council again met, the messengers from the Duke of Burgundy only obtained a verbal reply from the Lord Treasurer.*

In 1439 the regency of France was bestowed on Richard, Duke of York, the son of the Earl of Cambridge, and the Duke of Somerset was appointed to fill the place of Salisbury, lately slain. It has been supposed that Somerset was ambitious of the regency, and from envy and hatred of the Duke of York, sought to prevent his repairing to France to direct the operations of the war, and maintain the conquests of the English. However this might be, he so effectually applied himself to this purpose that the Duke of York was detained in England until Paris, and many other of the chief places in France, had been recovered by the enemy. This ill-will on the part of Somerset was perceived by the Duke of York, who was inspired with feelings of the strongest resentment against him, and although he dissembled his sentiments, he took frequent occasions to injure and offend him. Thus commenced a hatred between two powerful families, which terminated only in their annihilation.

The conduct of the Duke of York, upon his landing in France, has been highly extolled. He rendered great services to his country, wisely directing the affairs of the English; yet the utmost exertions on their part were insufficient to maintain their former conquests.

* Monstrelet.

King Charles had recovered from the dismay into which his early losses had thrown him, and having attained the age of manhood, when his noble and generous character unfolded itself to the world, he found his adherents daily increasing, while Henry, still a child both in age and capacity, appeared an unequal rival, incompetent to dispute his crown.*

Much praise has been bestowed on the Queen Consort, Mary of Anjou, for the fond energy with which she urged Charles VII. at this time to grapple with his misfortunes and his culpable indolence of character. Nor was this approbation undeserved. Such was the penury of King Charles when he fixed on the capital of Berry as the centre of his kingdom, that, we are told, he sometimes immured himself in his apartments with the Queen, in order that he might not blush in having a single witness to the rough fare with which he was obliged to content himself. Even for the moderate supplies of his table he was indebted to his steward, Jacques Cœur, and other friends. The good and generous disposition of Mary of Anjou was manifested in this hour of distress. Her firmness, combined with prudence, supported the King under his trials, while her tenderness made her think nothing too great a sacrifice. She was also ingenious in her resources; she sold her rings, jewels, plate, and even the silver from her chapel, to supply the means of remunerating those whom they desired to attach to their person or party. She was mainly instrumental in awakening in the King, her husband, the ardour with which he at last exclaimed, "God and reason must be on my side!" while unsheathing his sword, he filled with a new confidence the generals, who speedily surrounded his royal standard in that extremity. Charles had even medi-

* Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Anquetil; Barante; Howel; Speed; Rymer's Fœdera; Pol. Vergil.

tated his escape into Dauphiné, and thence to Spain or Scotland, seeing no probability of raising the siege of Orleans; but to his queen, Mary of Anjou, was due the credit of obstructing his weak resolve which was soon after entirely dissipated by an event unparalleled in the history of nations.*

The great event, which so speedily changed the whole face of affairs, was effected by the exploits of a simple unlettered girl, born at Dom Remé on the frontiers of Lorraine, and so well known to all succeeding generations as Joan of Arc.† She had been already distinguished in her small sphere for her virtue, courage, and vigour of mind; but having formed ambitious aspirations for the honour and good of her country, her piety and enthusiasm gained her access to Charles of Lorraine, and through his assistance, to Charles VII. One of the French writers, speaking of the Maid of Orleans, says, "She was an extraordinary girl, raised up by God to punish the English, and to make them feel the injustice of their enterprises on France. Far from profiting by this singular event, through which He spoke to them so plainly, they thought only of revenging themselves on this girl, whom Providence had employed to humble them. They accused her of idolatry, magic, blasphemy, and heresy, and burnt her to death. God testified his anger against all those who took part in this injustice. He humbled the English more and more, and honoured the memory of this extraordinary girl, by whom He had worked so many miracles."‡

In the north of France, now become the seat of war, the Regent continued to struggle under accumulated

* Chalon's France; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Moreri; Monfaucon; Mezerai; Rapin; Monstrelet; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Daniel; Eccles. Hist.

difficulties. In England, the continued contests between Beaufort and Gloucester caused the neglect of affairs in France, and no steps were taken to repair their repeated losses. The death of the Duke of Bedford, and King Henry's assumption of the regal power (which he used rather at the discretion of the Cardinal than his own), deprived the Duke of Gloucester of all influence in the kingdom; so that, although sincere in his attachment to the interests of his nephew, he could not serve him, or overcome the opposition of his adversary. Amidst these contests, and the affronts offered to the Duke, his affinity to the crown and his great popularity gave him an advantage, of which his hasty temper as often deprived him.

No accommodation could be effected between the two kingdoms; but at length a truce was entered into with the Duke of Burgundy, and the English engaged to release the Duke of Orleans, the last of the five noble princes whom Henry V. had captured and who had been a prisoner in England twenty-five years.* 1440. Hume; Barante.

The release of Orleans furnished to the rival parties in the Cabinet a new subject for contention. Gloucester represented the injunctions of the late king, not to release the prisoners until his son should be of age to dispose of them himself. He added other powerful arguments, entered a formal protest against the determination of the Council, and strenuously endeavoured to prevent the liberation of this prisoner, but in vain. The Cardinal, who had been some time exerting himself to bring about a peace, had pledged himself to the Duchess of Burgundy, with whom he had had several interviews, to effect the release of the Duke of Orleans. Having more weight in the Council than his nephew,

* Baker; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Monstrelet; Rapin; Barante; Mariana.

he ultimately gained his point, and the Duke of Burgundy paid part of the prisoner's ransom.

The Duke of Orleans, before he left England, not only paid 40,000 nobles, and gave security for 80,000 more, but engaged to return to his prison at the expiration of the year, unless he succeeded in getting King Charles to agree to a final peace. The English monarch promised, on his part, to repay the money on signature of the treaty, or on the Duke's return to the Tower of London, where he had passed his tedious captivity of twenty-five years. Surely no one could have been more deeply interested in effecting the object for which, apparently, he was set free, or have felt more strongly his responsibility in procuring a peace so desirable for the interests of both realms. His own happiness, liberty, and future welfare seemed to be at stake, for he had, moreover, engaged to marry the niece of the Duke of Burgundy who had agreed with him to forget former enmities. This seemed much for Orleans to attempt; for, let it be remembered, he was the son of the Duke of Orleans who had been assassinated by John "Sans Peur."

All these conditions were, notwithstanding, ultimately fulfilled.*

1440. Speed; Rymer's Fœdera.

When set at liberty, at the end of the year 1440, the Duke of Orleans had much difficulty in effecting the object to which he had pledged himself. He found King Charles surrounded by favourites, who, by their intrigues, so effectually excluded others from their monarch's notice, that some time elapsed before he obtained the influence to which he was entitled by his rank and abilities. When the King at length yielded to his suggestions in favour of a peace, no general basis of a pacification could be found. Thus, only an armistice for two years was agreed upon. Henry VI.,

* Anquetil.

meanwhile, was obliged to extend the period fixed upon for the return of Orleans to his captivity. It was the hope and expectation of the negotiators of this peace, the chief of whom were the Duke of Orleans and the Earl of Suffolk, that during the interval afforded by this truce some means would be discovered of reconciling the interests of the two nations.

The Duke of Gloucester at this time laid before the King a written statement of the transgressions of the Cardinal, contained in twenty-four articles, in which he sought to lessen his credit with Henry VI., but the King only referred the examination of these charges to the Council. The spiritual lords, who chiefly composed this body, were in the interest of Beaufort, and therefore passed by these charges in silence. Some of them were undoubtedly true, yet the Cardinal still contrived to enjoy favour at court. Many things had, indeed, been done without the consent of the King or of the Duke, both by the Cardinal and the Archbishop of York.* 1441. Holinshed.

The time, however, approached when party rage, which repeated aggravations and insults had augmented to the most bitter hatred, was about to vent itself in a series of attacks on the reputation, family, and even on the life of its devoted victim.

We have seen how the high estimation with which the Cardinal of Winchester had been regarded by King Henry V. aided that prelate's escape from public censure under the charges laid before the Duke of Bedford. As his preceptor, the young monarch, Henry VI., habitually looked upon him with respect and esteem, and he ever after submitted to his authority. This rule over the sovereign it was the interest of the Cardinal to preserve; and the pride and avarice of this

* Baker; Speed; Hall; Pol. Vergil; Holinshed; Fenn's Letters; Lingard; Henry; Hume; Barante; Sharon Turner; Villaret; Anquetil.

ecclesiastical statesman increased with his accumulated wealth and enlarged influence. His continual opposition to the Duke of Gloucester kept up a never-failing contest in the Cabinet; and about this period there began to be exhibited in every fresh quarrel, much personality and malice, which were only extinguished in the grave. History exhibits the circumstances of this quarrel in various lights; some authors advocating the measures of the Cardinal, and aggravating the faults of the Duke; but all concur in attributing to Gloucester many virtues, while the greatest crime laid to his charge appears to have been a rash and impetuous temper, which is ever more fatal to its possessor than to others. This it was which led him boldly, too boldly for his own safety, to advocate his country's welfare. For instance, at the close of his address to the King, he adds, "For truth, I dare "speake of my truth, the poore dare not doo so. And "if the Cardinal, and the Archbishop of Yorke, may "afterward declare themselves, of that is, and shall be "said of them; you, my right doubted lord, may then "restore them again to your councell, at your noble "pleasure." *

The Cardinal and his party were, however, in little danger of losing the confidence of a prince so accustomed to yield, and who showed too little spirit to resist the authority of Beaufort, even in favour of an injured kinsman.

Many attempts were made to destroy the character of the Duke of Gloucester in the opinion of his nephew, the King. His patriotic exertions were construed into ambitious attempts at the crown; and his hereditary family pride having instigated him to prefer the fatigues and hazards of a war in which it was possible to preserve the laurels which his brother had won,

* Holinshed.

to an ignoble peace, his public conduct was regarded with suspicion, as betraying symptoms of a disaffected spirit, ready to revive, upon every opportunity, fresh troubles and contentions. The lofty spirit of Gloucester, which had already been tried by many disappointments, was now compelled to submit to a far greater insult than any he had before experienced. He, who, on account of his love of literature and taste, had been styled "the Mæcenas" of his age, had to endure the degradation of beholding his wife tried and punished on an absurd and groundless charge of necromancy. The rank of the lady ought to have commanded respect, and would, doubtless, have preserved her from such indignities, had not her former dissolute character and the declining influence of her husband exposed her to the malice of his enemies.

We are told that the Cardinal laid this charge against her, finding no grounds of accusation against the Duke. Indeed it was highly improbable that a man who had been distinguished for exposing impostures, and who, in the encouragement of learning, had founded the divinity school at Oxford, should have ventured himself, or encouraged his wife, to tamper with witches or necromancers. It does not, however, seem surprising that Henry, already impressed with such unfavourable sentiments towards his uncle, should have listened to an accusation against the wife of one so often aspersed before him.

The Duke had been accused of aspiring to the crown. This charge went further, and supposed an attack on the King's life by means of the necromantic art. Upon this plea the Duchess of Gloucester was apprehended. She had been discovered, by the spies of the Cardinal, engaged in private meetings with Sir Robert Bolingbroke, a priest and mathematician (for which last he was suspected of necromancy), and three

others, one of whom was Marjary Gourdimain, called the "Witch of Eye." With these persons Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, was subjected to a severe examination before the chief prelates of the kingdom, viz., the Cardinal, the Archbishop of York, and Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury.

She was charged with a design to destroy the life of the King by enchantment. With the assistance of her accomplices, she was said to have formed an image of the King in wax, which, by sorcery, was consumed by slow degrees, and it was intended that the King should perish in like manner. No treasonable practices were proved against the Duchess, yet she was sentenced to do public penance in St. Paul's and two other churches for three days, and afterwards to be imprisoned for life. This sentence was executed with great severity. She was first incarcerated in the Isle of Man, and afterwards in Kenilworth Castle. Sir Robert Bolingbroke was hanged, and Marjary Gourdimain burnt at the stake as a reputed witch.*

1441. Lingard; Stow.

There can be little doubt that Gloucester deeply resented this attack on his wife; the cruel and unjust sentence served to widen the breach between this prince and his uncle, and every after-event only tended to aggravate their quarrel.† Nothing but the weakness and credulity of the King could have caused him to give credence to a plot, which only the most artful malice had devised, to effect the ruin of the Duchess of Gloucester.

When Henry VI. assumed the regal power, he betrayed no indications of that vigour and energy

* This unjust condemnation of the Duchess of Gloucester caused a statute to be made for trying peeresses by their equals, a privilege they had never before enjoyed.—*Stow, Parl. Hist.; Life of Chicheley.*

† Holinshed; Speed; Sandford; Baker; Carte; Fabian; Rymer's Fœdera; Stow; Lond. Chron.; W. of Worcester; Life of Chicheley.

which had so eminently distinguished his father. He had been restrained by the Cardinal in his early years from attention to public affairs; and his subsequent life was marked by a kind of natural imbecility and incapacity for business. At this time, he seemed to unite to a weak understanding a temper so easy, yet so kind and benevolent, that he became rather the subject than the sovereign of all who surrounded him. Thus a field was opened for the ambitious and designing; for that characteristic, which, in a private individual, would have been considered only as amiable, was, in a monarch, found to be highly censurable.

It was not difficult for men of understanding to perceive, that to gain the ear of the King was, in effect, to rule the kingdom; and for this several competitors appeared, amongst whom the Cardinal of Winchester took the lead.* This prelate sought only his own private interests, and those of his party. Having been accustomed to rule the King's person during his minority, and to assume an undue authority in the realm, he contended sharply with the Duke of Gloucester for the continuance of that power. He endeavoured, by various means, to thwart the views of that nobleman, who, on his part, anxiously sought to banish all ecclesiastical statesmen from the council-chamber, "that men might be at their freedom to say what they thought the truth."

Thus the hatred and envy of these two parties alternately disturbed and agitated the English court; until that period arrived when King Henry, having attained his twenty-first year, was advised to choose a consort, to participate his enjoyments and to share his throne.

* Biondi; Rymer's Fœdera; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Sharon Turner; Henry.

CHAPTER IV.

"Speak! hast thou seen her? will she be my Queen?
"Quick, tell me ev'ry circumstance, each word,
"Each look, each gesture; didst thou mark them, Suffolk?"
SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

"Did not the Heavens her coming in withstand,
"As though affrighted when she came to land?
"The earth did quake her coming to abide,
"The goodly Thames did twice keep back his tide;
"Paul's shook with tempests, and that mounting spire,
"With light'ning sent from heaven was set on fire;
"Our stately buildings to the ground were blown.
"Her pride by these prodigious signs was shown
"More fearful visions on the English earth,
"Than ever were at any death, or birth."—DRAYTON.

Propositions of marriage for King Henry—He is affianced to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac—This earl is taken prisoner—Negotiation for peace with France, and a proposal for the hand of Margaret of Anjou—The Earl of Suffolk, his family, and pretensions—His embassy to Tours—Policy of the English ministers—Margaret of Anjou and her accomplishments—A truce signed—The marriage proposed and determined upon—No dower required—Suffolk returns to England, and obtains the sanction of Parliament—Suffolk's eulogium of Margaret of Anjou—Nuptials by proxy—Margaret comes to England—Her illness—The marriage—Progress to London—The coronation—The King confides in the Queen, who unites in the party of Cardinal Beaufort.

IT was easy to perceive that the lady, whosoever she might be, who should become Queen of England, would decide the balance of power between the contending parties in the Cabinet, and consequently each became desirous of selecting their king's consort from a family likely to be favourable to his own peculiar interests.

The first matrimonial alliance proposed, was by

the Duke of Gloucester. In the terms of the treaty for peace with France, in 1439, instructions were given to propose the marriage of King Henry VI. with one of the daughters of Charles VII. This conference, however, was broken up, and this lady became afterwards the wife of the son of the Duke of Burgundy.

The continuance of the wars between the two kingdoms at length excited the commiseration of all Christendom. The Pope had exhorted the two monarchs to put an end to the effusion of blood, and several conferences had taken place between the Cardinal of Winchester and the Duchess of Burgundy, the result of which was the appointment of a meeting to treat about a peace, the Dukes of Brittany and Orleans being the mediators.*

The Duke of Gloucester next proposed the union of his young monarch with the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, and finding that the rich provinces of Gascony and Auvergne would be this lady's portion, he thought the marriage would prove acceptable to the people. It was also expected that this alliance would serve as a protection to Guienne. The Count of Armagnac, who had taken possession of the inheritance of the Countess of Cominges for which the King of France was also a competitor, justly fearing the power of that monarch, had earnestly sought to ally himself with England, in order to maintain himself in his new acquisitions. He proffered the hand of his daughter to King Henry VI., with a handsome dower, adding to a large sum of money the full possession of all his towns and castles in the province of Aquitaine, which had formerly belonged to England.†

* Rymer's Fœdera; Rapin; Sharon Turner.

† Baker; Sandford; Hall; Beckington; Rymer's Fœdera; Rapin; Monstrelet; Barante; Hume; Henry; Sharon Turner; Lingard.

The ambassadors from the Count of Armagnac were graciously received by King Henry, who, on their return, dismissed Sir Edward Hall, Sir Robert Roos and Thomas de Beckington,* the King's secretary, to complete the contract.

This marriage had been warmly advocated by the Duke of Gloucester, but it was no less dreaded by the Cardinal and his party, who liked not to receive a princess so much in favour with their opponent; and it appears not improbable that they gave some hints respecting the intended match to King Charles, as the event, which so speedily followed, seemed to show. In the month of May, 1442, the ambassadors of Henry VI. set out with his instructions for the conclusion of this marriage. Early in the following month, the King of France, who was much displeased at the combination forming against him, despatched the Dauphin with a powerful army to invade Guienne, and this enterprise was so successful, that within eight days the whole country had rebelled against King Henry. Treachery as well as force seems to have been employed to undermine the influence of England, a report having been spread that no relief was to be expected from this country. The appearance of the ambassadors, and the perusal of King Henry's letter restored the confidence of the people, succours being promised them, which they earnestly desired, but the extraordinary negligence of the English in the fulfilment of these promises can with difficulty be explained. The ambassadors appealed strongly to the King; they wrote also to Lord Cromwell, the treasurer, and their messengers were accompanied by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was deputed by the inhabitants to represent their situation. Despatches were again sent on the 17th of

* Thomas Beckington, of Beckington, Somersetshire, Bishop of Bath and Wells. A great benefactor to the Church of Wells.

October, to the King, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Cardinal of Winchester. The letter to His Majesty described the state of Guienne, the successes of King Charles, and the non-arrival of succours from England. The ambassadors assured the King that if only a few men had been sent, the French monarch would in all probability have been made prisoner, and the country might have been preserved.

It was the general opinion that this marriage was strenuously opposed by the Earl of Suffolk; and one of the subsequent charges against this nobleman was the breach of this contract. He was charged with having acquainted the King of France with the proposed marriage the moment it was agitated, and with having thus caused the invasion of Guienne, in the month of June.* From this period, until the close of that year, the rapid successes of the French, and the surprising negligence of the English in not sending succours to that province, caused a change in the sentiments of the Count of Armagnac; and if the conduct of the Count, which had excited the suspicions of the English ambassadors, did not finally dispose King Henry to break off this alliance, the result was inevitable, from the seizure of the dominions and person of the Count, who, with his two daughters and youngest son, were taken prisoners by King Charles.

Thus was the marriage of the King of England deferred, or rather set aside; for this nation did not scruple to put an affront on a prince who was unfortunate and unable to revenge himself; and while the princes of Christendom united their endeavours to establish peace between the two kingdoms, another union, more agreeable to King Henry though not

* Monstrelet, on Hall's authority, says that this was done by the Cardinal of Winchester, from hatred of Gloucester.

more fortunate for the English nation, was decided upon.*

The Cardinal of Winchester, on his part, had also selected a bride for his sovereign. His choice had not been determined with less political foresight than that of his rival; and great secrecy appears to have been observed before this important decision was divulged to the public. It was two years after the negotiation with the Count of Armagnac, that the Cardinal, (ever anxious to procure peace, while in his eagerness to frustrate the measures of his opponents he seemed even to disregard the public good,) dismissed an embassy to negotiate with France, and to adjust the terms of a peace, to which the late severe losses had inclined the people to agree.†

1444. Holinshed.

After the death of the Duke of Bedford, the Cardinal had introduced into the Council William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who had so far succeeded in ingratiating himself into the royal favour that the King became attached to him, and blindly followed his suggestions. From this time it would appear that the Cardinal made this earl instrumental in his own ambitious projects, employing him to gain the King's consent to the new alliance he proposed, and to receive all his instructions for the completion of this marriage.

The Earl of Suffolk did not inherit the great talents which had distinguished some of his ancestors. His grandfather, Michael de la Pole, was born of mean parents, but his eminent abilities enabled him speedily to obtain great wealth, and also the notice of Edward III., who took him into the number of his privy council. He became Chancellor of England, and

* Baker; Hall; Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Sandford; Carte; Fabian; Monstrelet; Beckington's Journal; Villaret; Mezerai; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Barante.

† Carte; Rapin; Lingard; Barante; Villaret.

in 1385, Richard II. created him Earl of Suffolk; but with the decline of the authority of this monarch, the influence of Michael de la Pole decreased also, and he died an exile from his native land. His son, Michael, lost his life at the siege of Harfleur, and the earldom was bestowed by Henry V. on the third son of this nobleman; but he was slain at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415. Thus, his brother William succeeded to the titles and estates, to which he added the ample dower of his wife, Alice, the granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet.* The Earl, although not endowed with more than ordinary abilities, was courageous and ambitious. He expected to advance himself and his party to the highest estimation with his sovereign, but this attempt was not unaccompanied with danger; supported, however, by the favour of the Cardinal, he was well received at court, and successful in obtaining the young King's sanction for him to procure for his consort the lovely princess Margaret, the daughter of René of Anjou.†

The learning and surpassing charms of the poor but unrivalled daughter of King René had been reported to the young sovereign of England, "who was anxious to enter into the endearing restraints of the most holy Sacrament of marriage;" and he resolved, if possible, to obtain her hand. For this purpose a secret negotiation with her father was commenced; and the King obtained a portrait of the youthful Margaret, which made him more than ever desirous to conclude the contract.

King Henry, though feeble and destitute of those

* Alice Chaucer had been already twice married; having first espoused Sir John Philips, Knt. Her second husband was Thos. Montecute, Earl of Salisbury, who, at his death, left her great riches.—*Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Lyson's Mag. Brit.; Allen's York; Monstrelet; Biograph. Brittanica.*

† Rapin; Barante.

commanding talents which shone conspicuously in his father and his grandfather, was still peculiarly susceptible of the influence of learning and great talents. It was for these—possessed by Margaret of Anjou in so eminent a degree—that she was selected by Cardinal Beaufort for the consort of his sovereign. He had the discernment, doubtless, to perceive how singularly fitted was this princess to guide the well-meaning, but weak and irresolute Henry, who seemed formed by nature as well as by education, to be governed implicitly.

When on the point of engaging in this embassy, the Earl of Suffolk showed a little reluctance, whether feigned or real, and professed himself unequal to the undertaking. He was not ignorant of the risk he incurred; and however ambitious of advancing himself with his sovereign and the nation, he confessed his incapacity, and presenting a petition to the King, modestly begged to be released from this undertaking; or, if denied this favour, entreating to be secured from any after penalty, should he fail in the object of his embassy. He also showed great caution in receiving his instructions. It is probable that he might justly fear the resentment of the Duke of Gloucester, who would be sure to oppose this measure; or, it might be, that he was conscious that he should incur the penalty of an Act passed in the reign of Henry V. against any one who should conclude peace with the King of France without the consent of the three estates in both realms.

To remove these objections an instrument was signed by the King and his Parliament, which granted pardon beforehand to the Earl (who in this instrument is called "grand seneschal of his household, and ambassador") for any error of judgment which he might commit in his double capacity, provided he arranged the nego-

tiation for the peace and the marriage to the utmost of his abilities.* Thus provided, the Earl of Suffolk set out, about the beginning of Lent, 1444, for the city of Tours, where this important negotiation was commenced. He was accompanied by Dr. Adam Moulins, Keeper of the King's privy seal and Dean of Salisbury, Sir Robert Roos † (the former colleague of Beckington), Richard Andrews ‡ (Doctor of Laws), the King's secretary, Sir Thomas Hoo, Knight, and John Wenlock, Esqr. §

1444. Holinshed; Rymer's Fœdera; Sismondi; Speed; Rapin; Mezerai; Anquetil.

These distinguished individuals were met in the city of Tours, where King Charles held his court, by many foreign ambassadors and persons of illustrious birth, amongst whom the Angevine princes held a distinguished place. Thither repaired, on the part of King Charles, the Duke of Orleans, Louis of Bourbon, the Earl of Vendôme, Grand Master of the King's Household, Pierre de Brezé (steward of Poitou), and Bertram de Beauvau, Lord of Persigné, who had all been appointed by this monarch to adjust the terms of the peace with England. The ambassadors from Spain, Denmark, and Hungary appeared as mediators between the two kings.

It was a large assembly, and great sums were expended, and there was much display in apparel at these

* See Appendix, p. 415.

† It is probable that it was for Sir Robert's services on this occasion the offices of Chamberlain and Customer of the town of Berwick were granted to him for life, by Henry VI., in 1445.

‡ Richard Andrews was a Fellow of New College, and Warden of All Souls' College. This last he resigned in 1442 for a more conspicuous station. Besides ecclesiastical preferments of great value, he filled the honourable office of Secretary to King Henry, and took, in that capacity, a part in the treaties of this reign. He was especially distinguished by his attendance on Margaret of Anjou in France, and on her progress to England for her coronation.—*Life of Chicheley.*

§ Stow; Carte; Speed; Holinshed; Rymer's Fœdera; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Eccles. Hist.; Beckington's Journal; Life of Chicheley; Daniel; Barante; Monstrelet; Baudier; Godfrey's Charles VII.; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Davies's Chron.

meetings at Tours, which were frequently held, and various subjects discussed, in order to effect a permanent peace between the two kingdoms. But all these efforts were ineffectual. Fresh doubts arose on both sides, and it became quite impossible to arrive at unanimity. A truce only was at length concluded, for the period of eighteen months, which was signed on the 28th of May, 1444.

The Earl of Suffolk, finding that he had failed in this part of his embassy, still endeavoured to obtain for his country such influence with the foreign powers as should, at a more distant period, be productive of that reconciliation which the English nation universally appeared to desire. He next entered on the marriage, which, as one means of establishing the peace, was regarded by the ministers as the chief object of this embassy.

The union between King Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou had been agreed upon, arranged, nay, even secretly negotiated, during the preceding year, although nothing was publicly made known respecting it. This secrecy may be better understood if we reflect on the motives for the conduct of the King's counsellors. Being aware of the infirm state of the health of King Henry, they feared, should he die, that their rival, the Duke of Gloucester, who was presumptive heir to the crown, might have it in his power to gratify his resentment against them, and punish them as they deserved.

The Earl of Suffolk readily concluded the contract, and agreed to the cession of Maine and Anjou on the part of his master, after which the treaty was ratified in due form. The demands of René might have been thought even reasonable by Suffolk, acting as he did in perfect accordance with the instructions of Beaufort, who was esteemed the most clear-headed statesman of

his time. This step was, however wise and politic, very unpopular, and gave rise to the suspicions of the English nation concerning the Duke, which ultimately endangered his life.*

Two years had elapsed since René's expedition to Naples, when this proposal was made for the hand of his second daughter, Margaret. He had been on the point of uniting her to the Count of Nevers, but the superior eligibility of this union with the English monarch at once ended the discussion on the former marriage, to which King Charles had raised some opposition. At this time René was not in possession of any territory, although styled King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem; his natural inheritance of Maine and Anjou had been long in the power of the English; he had not a single castle to call his own, his duchy of Bar, and even his very person being mortgaged for the payment of his ransom to the Duke of Burgundy, which he had not yet been able to discharge. Such, indeed, was his extreme poverty that he not unfrequently became dependent on the liberality of his friends and relatives.

In this destitute condition he was altogether unable to bestow on his daughter any bridal portion, and even on this account he had experienced the grief of beholding her hand refused by several princes. It could not be expected, therefore, that René was able to defray the necessary expenses of the nuptials, or of Margaret's escort into England.

This princess, indeed, although entitled by her birth to an honourable marriage, could hardly aspire to so advantageous an union as this with the English monarch. Margaret's want of fortune was, however,

* Holinshed; Biondi; Baker; Hall; Stow; Speed; Rymer's Fœdera; Carte; Sandford; Monfaucon; Godfrey; Baudier; Villaret; Monstrelet; Anquetil; Sismondi; Mezerai; Rapin; Olivier de la Marche.

the very occasion of her advancement to one of the first thrones in Europe, for it exactly met the views of the English ministers, who, in elevating to the rank of sovereignty a lady of their own selecting, wished to render her grateful for the favour they conferred, and to unite her, if possible, in their interests. They imagined also, that by giving to their weak monarch a wife who could rule him entirely, they should, through her means, be able to preserve their own influence. The beauty, youth, and talents of the Princess Margaret seemed also to favour the execution of their project.* The honour and welfare of the nation were thus lost sight of by these narrow-minded politicians, who, in their anxiety to promote this marriage, altogether overlooked that which ought to have been a paramount objection, viz., that Margaret being a niece of the Queen of France, her father had not the right of disposing of her without the consent of the King, who could not be expected to signify his approbation without such concessions on the part of the English as would further his views, and put an end to a war so destructive to his kingdom.

The objections to the expediency of this marriage did not, however, extend to the person of Margaret herself, for it is impossible to find amongst our illustrious queens one of equal beauty and talents; yet was she destined, from the cradle to the tomb, to misery and vicissitude. This princess has been described at the period of her marriage as "the most accomplished of her age, both in body and mind." To an enterprising and lively disposition she joined great firmness and resolution, a solidity of judgment, and a

* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Carte; Rymer's Fœdera; Biondi; Baudier; Daniel; l'Abbé Millot; Speed; Monstrelet; Monfaucon; Barante; Villaret; Biographie Universelle; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Sharon Turner.

penetration which admirably fitted her to command, and seemed to qualify her for that ascendency over the King of England which his ministers so anxiously desired she should obtain, and by which they hoped to rule according to their own will and pleasure. Such was Margaret of Anjou in her fourteenth year; and even at this early period of life, the fame of her beauty and wit resounded throughout France; and it was said, that "there was not in Christendom a more accomplished princess than the daughter of René."* This prince had bestowed upon his daughter an education proportionate to her birth; and as she advanced in age, she was acknowledged to be perfectly beautiful in person, and amiable in disposition. Having shared, in her early years, the dangers and misfortunes of her parents, the natural strength of her mind had not been weakened by indulgence. While in Italy she had participated in the pleasing studies of her brother, under the same masters, and her tastes must have been rapidly formed with the cultivation of her mind, amidst the beauty and grandeur of the Neapolitan scenery. Doubtless, every feminine sympathy was awakened by her father's perils, which she could not brave, and by her mother's sorrows, which she could not alleviate; yet her sentiments and feelings thus suddenly illicited (even as the beauteous flower by meridian sunshine), became perfected and condensed at an early age, to be manifested to the world, at a subsequent period of her life, in her conjugal affection, and her courage and strength of mind under every trial.

As the niece of the consort of King Charles VII., Margaret was, while very young, distinguished by the marked partiality of this monarch; and we are even told that she was indebted to her relationship to the

* Rapin; Barante; Hume; Baudier; Villaret; Sharon Turner.

blood royal of France, for obtaining the notice of King Henry, and thus becoming the pledge of reunion between two hostile nations. It is more probable, however, that the English ministers, and even the King, were led to make this choice through the fame of the personal charms and splendid talents of Margaret, which could not be concealed even in the humble and obscure court of her father. They seemed indeed to be formed to wield a sceptre, and to direct the vacillating mind of her husband.*

Such was the consort selected by the Cardinal, who considered this union would be favourable to the attainment of peace, (his chief object at this time,) and also the means by which he hoped to triumph over his rival in the Cabinet. In his desire to arrive at this end, he overlooked one objection, which, at another time, would have been a formidable one, viz., the poverty of René; but this, and every obstacle, yielded to the universal desire for peace.†

This peace had been resolved upon; and Suffolk, believing that, upon his success in obtaining it, depended the gratification of his ambition in procuring to himself the premiership, determined, whatever sacrifices of principle, or of prudence it might require, whatever risk or trouble it might occasion him, to incur all, rather than fail in his undertaking. No dower was demanded with the bride—no territory required. The Earl of Suffolk agreed to receive the lady without any portion; but then an objection was raised in the absurdity of King Henry's marrying the daughter of one from whom he withheld his patrimonial dominions; and the French ambassadors intimated their expectation of the surrender of Le Mans, and the provinces of Maine and Anjou, as the appanage of

* Barante; Lingard; Hume; Mémoires d'Angleterre, publié en 1726.
† Villaret.

Charles of Anjou, the brother of René and Prime Minister of France. To these demands the Earl acceded; indeed it has been thought by some that the French Court availed themselves of their intelligence of what was passing in England, to make these stipulations.*

The Earl of Suffolk was accused of proposing this alliance without sufficient authority, and of acting of his own accord without the consent of his associates, or the instructions of his sovereign; but the act already alluded to, signed by King Henry, (which provided against all after penalties, and in which both the marriage and the peace are mentioned,) sufficiently clears the Earl from this imputation.†

The suspicion appears to have arisen from the secrecy with which this marriage was kept from the public, and which undoubtedly gave rise to many reports injurious to the reputation of the Earl. One of these charged him with yielding to bribery in conceding to René the provinces of Maine and Anjou, as if he had some personal views to promote by this marriage; yet it must be acknowledged, that the object of his policy appeared to be, in subserviency to the views of the Cardinal, to arrive at some plausible means of procuring peace; and the near relationship of Margaret to the French King seemed to secure her influence with Charles VII., and to render probable a reconciliation between the two kingdoms. When we review the situation of René, it will also seem probable that this cession, so very advantageous to the interests of France, was extorted by that prince, who, perceiving the eagerness of Henry's

* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Rymer's Fœdera; John Rous; Biographie Universelle; Barante; Daniel; Rapin; Anquetil; Baudier; Lingard; Robinson; Hume; Henry; Sharon Turner.

† Baker; Biondi; Sandford; Carte.

ministers to obtain the hand of Margaret for their master, seized the opportunity of repairing his shattered fortunes and those of his family.

A meeting now took place between René and the King of France, between Chartres and Rouen; and the terms being agreed to, the Earl of Suffolk, with his associates, left France to obtain for these measures the sanction of Parliament, and the approbation and final instructions of King Henry.

This was found no difficult task; so many of the chief counsellors, as well as the King himself, having already signified privately their assent to these proceedings.* The opinion of the nation had not, however, yet been consulted; for it was not until the preliminaries of this marriage were settled, that the important secret became known, and when promulgated the surprise of the English people was only equalled by their discontent. It became even necessary for the Earl of Suffolk to appease them on the subject of the surrender of Maine and Anjou, which appeared too much like an unnecessary sacrifice which he had voluntarily made.

It had been for ages past the custom to give a dower with the bride. When King Henry V. applied for the hand of the Princess Catherine, he required so enormous a dower, that it was hardly possible for the French king to bestow it. The portion he demanded was two millions of crowns, and the restoration of Normandy and all the southern provinces which were once the inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

It seemed to be now compulsory on the part of the son of Henry V. to purchase his consort by the resignation of the provinces of Maine and Anjou. This was a great

* Rapin; Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Stow; Monstrelet; Lingard; Villaret; Rymer's Fœdera; Godfrey.

reverse of circumstances, and the people loudly complained.* It was the custom, in the patriarchal ages, for the portion to be bestowed by the husband; and this even appeared, originally, as though intended as a gift or compensation to the parents for their separation from their offspring. In the early periods of the English history, we also find the husband bound by the articles of marriage, to bestow part of his property as a settlement on his wife, while, according to some authors, the bride went to her consort penniless. This custom still prevails in the East amongst the Turks and Persians.†

The marriage of King Henry VI., and the coronation of his queen, occurred, unfortunately, at a time when this monarch was very necessitous, and great expenses were unavoidable, not only for the feasting and magnificence of these ceremonies, but also for the worthy reception of the bride.

The Duke of Gloucester had actively opposed the marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou. No one else had dared to do so; but he perceived its tendency, and the designs of those who had promoted it, which was to establish their own authority by advancing one who would become attached to their interests. The inveterate hatred evinced against this nobleman by his political antagonists, if it had deprived him of some portion of his weight in the Council, had not robbed him of the courage and spirit to advocate the interests of his country, and he came forward alone, and unsupported, to speak the truth before his enemies, and even to oppose the wishes of the King himself.

He urged two powerful reasons against this marriage: they were unanswerable, for they were founded in truth and good faith. The first was the King's engagement to the daughter of the Count of Armagnac,

* Fabian; Anquetil.

† Malcolm's Manners and Customs; Thevenot's Travels.

which it would be highly dishonourable in him to set aside, and especially as he had no excuse to offer. The Count had been released from captivity; he had obtained the pardon of the King of France; he had been restored to his estates; and was now prepared to fulfil the conditions of his contract with England. It was, indeed, believed by the people of this country that this match was all but concluded. The second reason urged by the Duke was no less forcible, viz., that the Earl of Suffolk having engaged for the restitution of Maine and Anjou, the former, being the bulwark of Normandy, could not be resigned without evident danger to that province. These arguments were, however, totally disregarded, and in spite of the anxiety of Gloucester to promote this marriage, he was not able to procure its approval.

The Earl of Suffolk, after laying the contract of marriage with the Angevine princess before the Council, rose, and in a long speech extolled the high birth, extraordinary beauty, and admirable qualities of Margaret of Anjou, "which," he said, "were more valuable than all the gold and silver in the world." He further stated that this union would be the means of terminating the war, as this lady, being nearly related to the King, Queen, and Prime Minister of France, would doubtless exert her influence to procure a speedy and honourable peace. He added, "that she ought to be considered as the certain pledge of that peace; and as a compensation for all the advantages he had laid before them, were the provinces of Maine and Anjou too great a sacrifice?" In reply to this eloquent harangue, the ministers, who were already in the secret, loudly applauded the Earl. The young King was much flattered and delighted by the eulogium of his intended bride; and the people, some out of complacency to the Earl, and all willing to gratify their monarch, appeared to approve, however in their hearts they might

dissent from the eligibility of this marriage.* Parliament immediately granted two fifteenths,† one and a half of which the Earl of Suffolk had demanded for the expenses of bringing over the Princess Margaret, and the other half being required, probably, to defray the costs at the coronation.

All opposing factions and opinions seemed at length to give way to the general desire of the nation to obtain peace, and the wish became universal, to behold a princess, who had been portrayed by the Earl of Suffolk in such lively colours.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Vendôme, with the Archbishop of Rheims and others, came over as ambassadors on the part of King Charles. They were honourably received by the English monarch, and the marriage contract being signed and all preliminaries adjusted, they returned home, laden with presents and every mark of distinction.‡

To testify his satisfaction at these nuptials, King Henry created the Earl of Suffolk a Marquis; John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; the Earl of Somerset, Duke of Somerset; Lord Talbot he created Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Dorset, Marquis of Dorset; and the Earl of Warwick, Duke of Warwick.§ This last duke was much beloved by Henry VI. He was the son of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had been the King's tutor, and who, after the death of the Duke of Bedford, 1444. Baker; Monstrelet.

* Holinshed; Biondi; Baker; Fabian; Hall; Carte; Sandford; Stow; Rymer's Fœdera; Allen's York; Henry; Lingard; Hume; Speed; Barante; Rapin; Villaret; Sharon Turner.

† A *fifteenth* of the value of all goods, (whether of the clergy or laity,) to which the king had no right unless given him by Parliament, or by the clergy in convocation. These grants were made by the ministers, upon the application of the king, solely to meet some extraordinary exigence.

‡ Hall; Biondi; Holinshed; Stow.

§ Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Virgil; Paston Letters; Biograph. Brit.; Davies's Chron.

was dismissed to France to supply his place, and while serving as Lieutenant-general, died in that country. His son Henry evinced great enterprise and courage, and when scarcely nineteen years of age, offered his services for the defence of Normandy, which so pleased the King that he created him Premier Earl of England, and as a mark of distinction, permitted him, and his heirs afterwards, to wear a gold coronet upon his head in his own presence, as well as elsewhere. He also gave him a seat in Parliament. He granted him also the reversion, after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, of the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, Herm, and Alderney, for the yearly rent of a rose, to be paid at the feast of St. John the Baptist. Besides these, he conferred upon his favourite the government of Calais, the castle of Bristol, and many other grants. At last, as the utmost extent of his prerogative, he made him King of the Isle of Wight. This Duke, who, from his extreme youth was called in the public documents of that period, "the Child Warwick," received so many favours from King Henry, that it excited the envy of the Duke of Buckingham, and as much was to be apprehended at this time from the feuds of the nobility, in order to prevent any ill consequences from the differences of these two noblemen, it was declared by Act of Parliament, "for the appeasing of the strife betwixt them for pre-eminence, that from the 2nd of December next ensuing, they should take precedence of each other alternately, one that year and the other the next, as long as they should live together." Further, it was enacted that the survivor should, during his life-time, have the precedence of the other's heir. By the death of Warwick in the following year, the main point was determined, and the Duke of Buckingham then obtained a grant immediately to himself and his heirs, "above all dukes whatsoever, whether of England or

of France, excepting those of the blood royal." This unpardonable pride in Buckingham was united to a baser avarice, and from an old record we learn of his imprisonment of two gentlemen, whom he thus obliged to sign away their right to an inheritance, which the Duke divided with a younger brother of the family.*

Henry VI., whose attachment to the Duke of Warwick, his great favourite, had induced him to create him "King of the Isle of Wight,"† in the year 1445, crowned him with his own hands. This was the highest honour he could bestow to express his affection for this young nobleman, and to show his respect for his father's memory, and remembrance of his services. It proved the last favour the Duke could receive, since he was taken off in the flower of youth, on the 11th of June, 1445, at twenty-two years of age; and was buried at Tewkesbury.‡

How much contrasted were the characters of the Dukes of Warwick and Buckingham, and how deeply the former must have been regretted by the youthful monarch.

King Henry, after having conferred the distinctions on his chief nobility, dismissed the Marquis of Suffolk to the Continent to espouse, and bring over, the Princess Margaret. In this embassy the Marquis was

* Dugdale; Biograph. Britannica.

† This island was possessed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who held it until his death, when it fell into the King's hands.

‡ The Duke left an only daughter, but two years old, who became Countess of Warwick. This young lady was afterwards committed to the care of Queen Margaret, consort of Henry VI., and then intrusted to William de la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk, at whose manor of Newelme, in Oxfordshire, she died on the 3rd of January, 1449, having not quite attained her sixth year. She was buried in the Abbey of Reading, near the remains of her great grandmother, Constance Lady Despenser, daughter of Edmund Langley, Duke of York. After her death, Ann, the sister of the late Duke, became his sole heir, and her husband, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, took, in her right, the title of Earl of Warwick.—*Biograph. Brit.; Stow; Dugdale's Antiq.; Milles's Catalogue; Barante; Baker; Masters's Corp. Chr., Cam.; Selden; Monstrelet; Paston Letters.*

not only accompanied by his lady, the Marchioness of Suffolk, but his escort consisted of many lords and ladies of title and distinction, richly attired, and adorned with jewels.* They took with them many handsome chariots and gorgeous horse litters, and carried letters to King René.† Amongst the ladies who attended on this occasion, it may not be uninteresting to remark that one of them was the Lady Elizabeth Grey, afterwards the consort of King Edward IV.

With this splendid escort, the Marquis of Suffolk left England and proceeded towards the city of Tours. With his associates in this embassy he landed at Harfleur, and thence proceeded to Rouen and Le Mans. When they reached Vendôme, the conference was commenced, and continued satisfactorily on both sides; so much so, that it was expected this auspicious and amicable beginning would finally lead to the most favourable results. At the end of a week, these English commissioners sailed down the river Loire, from the city of Blois, where the Marquis of Suffolk had visited his friend and former prisoner, the Duke of

* The following list of names of those who composed this escort, is given in an authentic document of the times :—[1]

Thomas Lord Clifford.
Ralph Lord Graystock.
James de Bomonord.
Beatrice Lady Talbot, Baroness.
Emma Lady Scales, Baroness.
Sir Thomas Stanley.
Sir Edward Hall.
Sir William Bonville.
Sir Richard Roos.
Sir Robert Harcourt.
Sir John Holland.
Sir Hugh Cokesey.
Sir Robert Wynchelsey.
Sir Robert Hungerford.
Lady Elizabeth Grey.
Lady Elizabeth Hall.
Master Walter Lyzard, the Queen's Chaplain and Confessor.
William Breust, Clerk.
Rose Merston, damsel.
Margaret Stanlewe.
Henry Quarranto, Clerk and Secretary to the Lady, the Queen.
Michael Trigory, the Queen's Chaplain.
Henry Trevilean, Chaplain and Almsgiver.
John Bridd, servant.
George Pavier, Master of the Navy, called Christopher of Newcastle.

† Sandford; Biondi; Fabian; Stow; Rymer's Fœdera; Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Carte; Speed; Baudier; Monstrelet.

[1] Egerton MSS., and Addit. MSS., in the British Museum.

Orleans; and they joined the royal family, then residing at Tours. At the gates of this city, the envoys of King Henry were welcomed by the King of Sicily, his son, the Duke of Calabria, the Dukes of Bretagne and Alençon, and a splendid retinue of nobles. The next day, at the castle of Montils near Tours, they were presented to King Charles, who exhibited an earnest desire to confirm all the preliminaries, to which his ministers had already agreed.

The Duke of Burgundy joined the royal party; and the day following the Queen of Sicily arrived at Tours, bringing with her the Lady Margaret of Anjou, her daughter.

1444. Sandford; Milles's Catalogue; Speed; Rymer's Fœdera; Rapin.

At the beginning of November, 1444,* in the church of St. Martin's, at Tours, the Princess Margaret of Anjou was affianced to King Henry VI., the Marquis of Suffolk acting as proxy for his sovereign.

These espousals were honoured by the presence of the Pope's legate, Petrus de Monte, who was staying at Tours, and of King Charles and his Queen, Mary of Anjou (who were uncle and aunt to the bride), and of all the chief personages of the court of France. René, the father of this Princess, and Isabella of Lorraine, her mother, were there; and also there were present her brother, the Duke of Calabria, the Dukes of Orleans, Alençon, and Brittany, seven earls, twelve barons, and twenty bishops, besides others, knights and gentlemen.†

After the solemnization of this marriage the two courts removed to Nanci, the usual residence of the King of Sicily. The bridal festivities were of no ordinary kind, and however great the troubles which this ill-fated marriage entailed upon the innocent

* No author gives the precise day of this marriage.

† Holinshed; Biondi; Hall; Stow; Beckington's Journ.; Davies's Chron.; Moreri; Carte; Rymer's Fœdera; Rapin; Daniel; Villaret; Anquetil; Monstrelet; Godard Faultrier; Biographie Universelle.

Margaret, no union ever took place under more auspicious aspects.

Eight days were passed in fêtes and tournaments to commemorate these nuptials, and the apparent reconciliation of the Houses of Anjou and Burgundy. The King of France had shown his satisfaction at this alliance with the English monarch, by honouring with his presence the marriage ceremony; and while he stayed to share in the splendid entertainments which followed, he, no doubt, rejoiced (harassed and half ruined as he was) at the prospect, to which this event seemed to lead, of the restoration of peace to his distracted kingdom. All the beauty of England, France, Lorraine, and Burgundy were congregated together at Nanci.* Here were assembled all the princes of the age, who were most expert in these fêtes and amusements. Of these, René of Anjou was reputed the best jouster of his time; there came also Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine, the brother of René, the Marshal of Loheac, the Count of St. Pol, the Sire de Lalaing, the Sire de Charme, and other knights of Burgundy, who were all distinguished; Ferri of Lorraine was also present, and the Count of Foix, who, as well as the Count of Maine, was young, and jealous of appearing with *éclat;* in short, the court of France was seen completely united to that of Lorraine. Another individual was also present at these diversions, whose name must not be forgotten; it was the Sire de Brézé, Lord of Varenne and Seneschal of Normandy, who had been one of those who had negotiated this marriage. Brézé was specially esteemed by King Charles, and he had also gained the confidence of all the princes of France, not only as a wise and clever counsellor, but as a bold

* It was perhaps the removal to Nanci which led to the error of Bodin, and other writers, who say that the marriage was solemnized at Nanci.

knight, than whom there was no one more graceful, nor who better knew how to please.

The attire and equipages of the company were magnificent; and there were delicate banquets and costly feasting. At the entertainment which followed the betrothal, the company were amused by the appearance of two giants, carrying each a large tree in his hands. Then came in two camels bearing towers on their backs, in each of which an armed man appeared, who fought the one with the other.

Amongst the amusements was a trial of skill in archery, the proposition of Suffolk and Pierre de Brézé. The contest was between the archers of France and England. The prize (1,000 crowns,) was won by the French, contrary to the general expectation; but some choice marksmen had been selected by them, from the Scottish guard, and put forward on this occasion, who were regarded as denizens of France. Again, we are told, that, at this season of gaiety, the Queen and the Dauphiness, (Margaret of Scotland,) rode out into the country one afternoon, attended by three hundred noblemen and other knightly attendants.

The two Kings, Charles and René, equally full of courtesy, were happy in the opportunity of indulging their natural gallantry amidst so many beautiful and amiable women. The Queens of France and Sicily were both witnesses of these noble pastimes, and also the Dauphiness (the Princess of Scotland), the Countess de Vaudemont, the Duchess of Calabria, and Queen Margaret, with all their attendants.

The young Queen, upon the occasion of these fêtes, made choice of the Daisy for her badge, the emblem of "fidelity in love," and as such worn in the days of chivalry at tournaments. Thus was the "Marguerite"* or daisy assumed by all the admirers and

* The common daisy in France is called "Marguerite."

devoted attendants of the fair Queen, and shone conspicuous when worn in the scarfs of the nobility and chivalrous knights of her native land; as the poet expresses it,—

> "When in his scarf the knight the daisy bound,
> "And dames at tournays shone with daisies crowned."

How appropriate was this choice of Margaret of this modest flower "whose white investments figure innocence," to her own character and career as King Henry's consort, destined as she was, throughout her life, to such trials and vicissitudes which probably no other queen ever endured! Indeed no flower was ever more the poets' favourite than the daisy; they all write in praise of the "modest, crimson, wee-tipped flower;" * and one of them, most eloquent, exclaims,—

> "There is a flower, a little flower,
> "With silver crest and golden eye,
> "That welcomes every changing hour,
> "And weathers every sky.
>
> "On waste and woodland, rock and plain,
> "Its humble buds unheeded rise;
> "The rose has but a summer reign,
> "The Daisy never dies." †

Another noted person in this assembly, whose surpassing brilliancy astonished, but whose presence did not gladden the hearts of the virtuous matrons who beheld her, was the celebrated Agnes Sorel, called the "Lady of Beauty." She appeared in the dress of an Amazon,—a fanciful suit of armour glittering with jewels,—and mounted on a fine charger richly caparisoned. Such was the morality of that age, that the presence of "la belle Agnes" was thought to add to the splendour of these festivities. While Maid-of-Honour to Isabella of Lorraine, in whose court the

* Burns. † Montgomery.

fair Agnes had been educated, twelve years previous, she had first attracted the notice of King Charles VII., and smitten with her beauty, he had loaded her with favours. At this period it was said of her, that in personal charms, and in magnificence of attire, she surpassed her sex, and equalled in splendour any princess of her times.

More than once King Charles engaged in the lists, and bore on his shield the serpent of the fairy Melusina. He tilted with René, but was vanquished by him. Those who were most distinguished in this tournament in honour of the beautiful bride, Margaret of Anjou, were her uncle Charles of Anjou, Pierre de Brézé, and more particularly, the Count of St. Pol, who received the prize from the hands of the Queens of France and Sicily. The Marquis of Suffolk took no part in these jousts, which were ill-suited to his graver years.* The spot whereon the tournament was held was thence denominated, "la Place de Carrière."

It was during this season of gaiety and of rejoicing that the marriage of Yolande of Anjou, the elder sister of Margaret, took place, under somewhat romantic circumstances. Ferri de Vaudemont, to whom she had been affianced nine years before, had become desperately enamoured of the beautiful Yolande, and, grown impatient of the repeated delays of her father, (who never intended she should be united to him,) he formed a project which he accomplished. With the aid of a few young and bold chevaliers, he succeeded in carrying off the Princess Yolande during the tournament in honour of her sister's nuptials. This affair gave great displeasure to King René; but, upon the mediation of King Charles and his queen, as well as some others of

* Suffolk is reported to have attained the age of fifty.

this noble company, he forgave the gallant son of his great adversary, the Count de Vaudemont.

After this followed a general reconciliation, and all former enmities being overlooked and forgotten, the company returned with renewed zest to their fêtes and amusements.*

Great expense was incurred for these pageants and games, and it has been remarked, that the magnificence attendant on these espousals, was very unsuitable to the situation of the two Kings and the poverty of Queen Margaret.† Such, indeed, were the mean circumstances of the King of Sicily at this time, that the expenses of the splendid progress of Queen Margaret through France, were necessarily defrayed by King Henry.

Margaret of Anjou was much beloved by her family, and she had now to endure a mournful separation from all her affectionate relatives and attached friends. The fêtes being ended, the young queen was delivered, with some solemnity, to the care of the Marquis of Suffolk, who, accompanied by the Marchioness, and their noble escort of lords and ladies (now also graced by the Queens of France and Sicily), set out on their progress towards England. They proceeded thither less rapidly than might have been expected, since it was not until the month of April in the following year that Queen Margaret beheld her royal consort.

The departure of Margaret of Anjou for England occasioned so deep a sorrow to the court of Charles VII. and that of René, that if the possibility of presentiments be admitted, a remarkable one might be found, in the report of historians, of the separation of

* Barante; Chastellaine; Hall; Holinshed; Buchon; Monfaucon; Baudier; Stow; Monstrelet; Godfrey; Daniel; Villaret; Dorn; Calmet; Godard Faultrier.

† Biondi; Rapin; Baudier.

the King of France from his niece. Having accompanied this princess more than two leagues from Nanci, King Charles embraced her several times, gazed on her long without speaking, and at last pronounced these words with tears in his eyes :—" I am " doing little for you, my daughter, in placing you on " one of the greatest thrones of Europe, since there are " none worthy of possessing you." His grief would not allow him to add more, sobs choked his utterance, and the young queen only answered by a torrent of tears; they then separated, never on earth to meet again.*

The following lines, translated from the French of that time, depict the general bereavement felt at the departure of the Lady, Queen Margaret :—

" Then came the Earl of Suffolk there
" T'escort his Queen from scenes of mirth;
" And tears fell fast in sad despair,
" And some did sink upon the earth.
* * * *
" Then noble dames and damsels fair
" Took, one by one, their last embrace;
" And none could soothe the pangs, or dare
" To bid adieu to that loved face.
" And pity 'twas, and terrible to see,
" A world of feeling waked so cruelly.
* * * *
" The Queen takes leave, the Queen departs,
" The revelry that had been made,
" Then changes into aching hearts;
" What bliss unsafe, what joy decayed!
" Alas! of cheer, and pomp, and mirth,
" What is there here that lasteth long?
" Now feasting, now laid in cold earth,
" Now grief, erewhile the dance and song."

After parting from Queen Margaret, the King of France repaired to Chalons, in Champagne, where the fêtes and diversions were renewed upon the arrival of Isabella of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy. This

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Barante; Monstrelet.

princess had exhibited so much skill and prudence in the peace of Arras, that she was ever after intrusted with the affairs of Burgundy, and engaged in all matters of treaty. She appeared brilliantly attended by the chief nobles and ladies of Burgundy; and, as the representative of her house, she submitted to the King the grievances of the Duke, her husband.

Her success was not, however, proportionate to her exertions, and on this occasion she was compelled to make some concessions. A definitive treaty was concluded between René of Anjou and this princess, the King of France being arbiter of the differences of the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy; and thus were terminated the discussions, that had been so incessantly revived, on the subject of the entire payment of the ransom of that prince. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to restore to René the two cities of Neuchâteau in Lorraine, and Clermont in Argonne, of which he had obtained possession, and to acquit him of the sum he had engaged to pay for his ransom, conditionally, that he should settle on the Duke and his heirs the town and castlewick of Cassel in Flanders.* René had received these by gift from his late uncle, the Cardinal of Bar.

The news of the truce and of the alliance with England was received universally with the utmost joy. The oppressed inhabitants of certain portions of France and Normandy were even so sanguine as to imagine that their misfortunes were at an end; while those who had been confined for so long a time within the fortified towns rejoiced in again returning to the country to cultivate their neglected lands, and the tradesmen to resume their long forsaken business. The intercourse between the two nations was again conducted on more advantageous terms to both par-

* Barante; Biog. Universelle; Monstrelet; Daniel; Godfrey; Monfaucon.

ties, and their commodities were exchanged to their mutual satisfaction.

The festivities attendant on the departure of the young queen to her husband further strengthened and confirmed the kindly feeling which had been revived between the two countries; and when Queen Margaret herself appeared with her splendid cavalcade of English nobility on their way to England, led on by the Marquis of Suffolk, they were welcomed with heart-felt rejoicings and demonstrations of universal joy.

King René and Queen Isabella accompanied their daughter as far as Bar-le-Duc, where they bade her farewell, with "floods of tears" and many prayers to God for her welfare. Her brother, the Duke of Calabria, and the Duke of Alençon, then attended her as far as St. Denis. How tenderly must Margaret have been beloved, and how worthy was she of such love, that so much grief and regret was evinced on her leaving an impoverished father to share in all the honours of a throne!

The young queen proceeded to the land of her husband, conducted by the Marquis of Suffolk, with suitable magnificence, first to Paris, in which city she was well received, and thence she was afterwards conveyed through the province of Normandy.*

Many and curious are the details of the expenses of the Lady Queen Margaret's tedious progress. These interesting and amusing accounts, by John Breknoke and John Everdon, of the outlay for the Queen's escort and attendants—"the chief nobles, barons, ladies, damsels, knights, scuttifs, and other officers, besides servants, sailors, running footmen, horses, &c."—are well and minutely described; and besides, we gather from these statements some facts of this journey which unavoidably fall in with these honest

* Godfrey's Hist. of France.

accounts, simply called—"names, diet, offerings, and almsgivings, necessaries, salaries, and wages."*

"The salary of each baron was 4*s.* 6*d.* per day. This sum was paid to Thomas Lord Clifford, and the same to Ralphe Lord Greystocke, also to James de Ormond, and two others. Each baron had with him three scutifers (or esquires) and two valets. The former received 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, and the latter 6*d.* This was considered at the rate of *war* pay, for the space of half a year, and this was for proceeding from the county of Suffolk to parts of France to bring over the Lady, Queen Margaret, into the presence of King Henry in England, in the 23rd year of the said king; and for thither crossing and remaining and returning during half a year—viz., for 182 days being in the King's service, within the time of the present accompt, 91*l.* to each baron."

"To the Baroness Beatrice Lady Talbot, for her wages at 4*s.* 6*d.* per day; and to the Baroness Emma Lady de Scales, the same salary, 4*s.* 6*d.* per day: each of these ladies having one scutifer, two damsels, one chamberer, and one valet, to whom was paid 1*s.* 6*d.* to the three former, and 6*d.* per day to the two latter. Each of these ladies coming from the county of Suffolk received for half a year, or 182 days, spent in the lord, the King's service, 91*l.*"

"In the same manner, Thomas Stanley, Knt., comptroller of the lord the King's household, had for his salary 2*s.* 6*d.*, having one esquire at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and seven valets at 6*d.* each per day,—for the half year, 45*l.* 10*s.*"

* From one document we learn that these expenses extended from the 17th of July, 1444, to the 16th of October, 1445; the sum received by the above named clerks of the King's household from the Lord Treasurer being 4,233*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*, beyond which, they drew from other sources 995*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* The outlay, arranged under several heads, included offerings made at mass in France, Normandy, and England (only the moderate sum of 4*l.* 10*s.*), almsgivings, &c.

"Edward Hull, Knt., attendant of our lady, the Queen, had 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, one esquire at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and two valets at 6*d.* each; these amounted to 45*l.* 10*s.* for their service to the King of 182 days." *

A brief but interesting diary follows:—

"On the 13th of November, 1444, the Lady, Queen Margaret, was at Cambec, and was conveyed the same day from this place to Rouen, by one John Oliver, who for one summerset for his conduct by boat, various harness, carriage and stabling, received 6*s.* 8*d.*"

"On the 28th of November, the Queen was at Honnflete, and thence returned to Rouen by boat, being accompanied by Beatrice Lady Talbot, and other ladies and damsels appointed to attend her." †

"We find the Queen again passed on from Rouen to Honnflete, and from thence to Caen, under the care and assistance of Laurence Werkham and Merlin, pursuivants, who were sent from Honnflete to Caen, and divers other places, to provide for and wait upon the lady the queen and her suite, for their expenses, and those of their men and horses, as well as for various boats for the conduct, and to await and provide for the same. These were paid for their services 38*s.*"

"On the 12th of December, Queen Margaret was at Vernon." Previous to this day the Queen had been passing and repassing at three different times to and from Rouen and Honnflete; no doubt awaiting, with interest and some anxiety, the arrival of despatches and commands from her lord the King.

However gratifying to the young Queen had been her

* Addit. and Egerton MSS.

† "Richard Ap Evan, and Richard Enny, in two summersets, conducted them; and for the managing the lading of them for the passage, and for three boats and trappings, they received in consideration thereof, 38*s.* Also John Disse, a sailor, for boating and freighting various harness for the offices, and victualling the household of our Lady, the Queen, from Honnflete to Rouen, and reconveying the same harness from Rouen to Honnflete &c., &c., in consideration thereof, received 48*s.* 4*d.*"

journey through France, her uncle King Charles's dominions, it must have been no little disappointment to her to find that her progress was arrested when so near the point of her destination. The delay of three or four months, which ensued at this spot, must have tested the small amount of philosophy to which, at her early age, she might have attained. We know not how far this period proved tedious or distressing to the youthful bride, when she found herself detained, with her noble escort, who, like herself, might impatiently desire the termination of this embassy, to rejoin their relatives at home. Various conjectures might be formed as to the manner in which this protracted stay was rendered agreeable to Queen Margaret, or, it might have been that this time was a great transition from joy to sorrow, or even to tranquil meditation. The news of the sudden death of her dear and charming friend, the Princess of Scotland, which followed on her steps, might possibly have cast sadness on the heart already rendered anxious by delays and hope deferred.

The vicissitudes of life are nowhere more remarkable than in the courts of kings, and amidst the splendours of the nobility; it was even whilst the rejoicings at Chalons were continued, that this event, the most melancholy and unlooked-for, occurred, and for awhile checked the universal *gaieté du cœur*. Margaret Steward, Princess of Scotland, the wife of the Dauphin, (afterwards Louis XI.,) had been present at the marriage, by proxy, of Margaret of Anjou, and had shared in the late festivities; but, alas! she was soon after removed in the bloom of youth! This lovely and amiable princess had been generally esteemed and admired; she was generous and compassionate, the patroness of literature, and enthusiastically fond of the sciences, to which she devoted, not only her days,

but a great portion of her nights; and she was, besides all this, rigidly virtuous. No wonder that she was greatly lamented by the king and his court, and regretted by all who knew her.*

What a loss such a friend must have been to the youthful Margaret of Anjou! Surely, amidst the rejoicings which welcomed her on her progress, as England's queen, her regret for the loss of her friend must, for a time, have interrupted her dream of enjoyment. This sad event might have been called the first prognostic of the future misfortunes of this queen, whose bridal morn was thus clouded by sorrow.

It was also during the period of Margaret's detention on the Continent, that she formed a lasting friendship with the Marquis and Marchioness of Suffolk, and also with the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. There can be little doubt, however, that these friendships, which, under such circumstances, must have arisen so naturally, and as one might be led to think, so auspiciously, for the welfare of the young bride, were the chief cause of her misfortunes, and, so to speak, the rock on which her bark was subsequently wrecked.

Already has it been seen how deeply interested was the Marquis of Suffolk in obtaining the good opinion of his royal mistress, to suit the purpose of his own ambition. That he succeeded in doing so, is sufficiently attested by the calumnies afterwards cast upon the reputation of this princess, who so innocently fell into the snare laid for her by the ministers. The Marchioness of Suffolk, granddaughter of the poet Chaucer, was also a first cousin of Cardinal Beaufort, by whom she would, without doubt, be considered the most eligible person to chaperon the fair bride of his sovereign, and to predispose her youthful mind to unite with his

* Baronte; Villaret; Anquetil; Baudier; Monstrelet; Daniel.

party, and thus prepare the way for the execution of their ungenerous purposes.

That Margaret had, at this time, many amiable and estimable qualities has been sufficiently shown by the deep sympathy and regrets of her family circle and friends when she left France. In the home of her childhood, that home where care and misfortune still hovered, she had been able to form friendships with sincerity, and without caution; and experience had not yet taught her the peril which might possibly be incurred where the judgment is not exercised. During the previous summer,—a season when nature seems to reflect back in a thousand objects around the joy of the youthful heart,—no doubt the beautiful bride had indulged in many buoyant hopes and pleasing anticipations of a destiny which appeared so much beyond her expectations, and to which her ambition could hardly have aspired. Possibly she might have even been ignorant of the discord which prevailed in the court whither she was proceeding, and of that train of evils in which she was too speedily to be involved, but could she, indeed, have foreseen the trials and difficulties which lay in her path, and the embarrassments she had to encounter, it is not improbable that, at her early age, she might have regretted, with feminine sorrow, her departure from the paternal roof.

At Harfleur, Queen Margaret was welcomed with joy, and her entry into that city was like a triumph. Here a number of the English nobility had awaited her arrival, and they afterwards joined her at Rouen. When the Queen reached Mantes, she found certain boats awaiting her, in which she embarked, and proceeded down the Seine to Rouen,* where the inhabi-

* Queen Margaret, while in the city of Rouen, purchased certain pieces of plate which had been the property of the Cardinal Henry of Luxembourg, Chancellor of France, lately deceased. His arms were removed from these silver vessels, and those of the Queen were substituted. This was done by

tants also received her, and her noble escort, with the most rapturous rejoicing; indeed we are told that their route to the coast was one continued triumphal procession.

The Queen was most liberal in her private gifts and almsgivings. In her progress between Harfleur and Mantes she bestowed 22*s.* 4*d.* to various poor persons, besides which she distributed to fourteen women as many dresses and hoods of grey cloth, and a pair of shoes, and to each one of them besides a gift of fourteen pence. These were bestowed on Maundy Thursday, when pious Catholics in good old times observed the custom of bestowing gifts at the "feet washing," and of almsgiving to the poor. The age of the donor decided the number of the gowns and hoods given to the women; and in this case shows the age of Queen Margaret, whose benefaction cost the sum of 8*l.*

When Queen Margaret reached Pontoise, on the 18th of March, where the territories of her husband, King Henry, commenced, she was met by the Duke of York, who was anxious to evince his respect to the consort of his royal master. This he earnestly showed, since his attention to the Queen caused him to neglect to reply to King Charles, who had directed to him letters on the important subject of a marriage between one of his daughters and the eldest son of the Duke.* 1445.

a goldsmith of Rouen, named John Tobaude, who also polished them for the Queen; and, on the 12th of March following, he received of William Elmseley, (the valet who took charge of the Queen's jewels,) the sum of 53*s.* 4*d.*

* Afterwards Edward IV.

The letters from the King of France (dated Nanci, the 19th of February, 1445), were at length replied to, but not until a verbal communication had been made through the Duke of Suffolk expressing King Charles's willingness for the marriage. The Duke of York, in his letter of explanation to the King, first alluding to the message through Suffolk, and concerning this union for his son, goes on to say:—

"Concerning the which thing, most high, most excellent, and most power-
" ful prince, and most redoubted lord, I am much comforted and joyful, in

From the arrival of the Queen at Pontoise, each day is especially recorded, by which we trace her progress to the English shores:

1445. "On Thursday, the 18th of March, at Pontoise, the lady, Queen Margaret, came to supper with her friends, at the lord the King's expense."

"On the 19th of March the Queen supped with the Duke of York at Maunte, and the following day she dined with the Duke at Vernon, where she passed three days."

"On the 21st of March, being Palm Sunday, she attended High Mass."

"On the 23rd of the month she went from Vernon to the 'Loge Nupti' and Rouen, and again, on the following day, to both these places."

"From the 24th of March Queen Margaret remained at Rouen for seven days, and on the last day of the month went to Bocamshard." *

" consequence of the singular and true desire which I have to acquire your " friendship and society, and with all my affection I thank you for it most " humbly."

" Your said letters by me received, I was immediately inclined to send " my ambassadors to your highness for the business, a thing which I could " not do and accomplish so speedily as I could well have wished, in conse- " quence of the arrival on this side of my lady the Queen, whom after that " she was brought to and had arrived at the town of Pontoise I have accom- " panied, as reason was, until she had embarked on the sea to go into Eng- " land to the King, your nephew and my sovereign lord."

" So I entreat you most humbly that of the delay of the mission of my " said embassy to you, you would be pleased to have and hold me excused."

" Written at Rouen the 18th day of April."

" Your most humble kinsman,"

" THE DUKE OF YORK."

" R. YORK."

* In the course of her progress through France, this queen made various offerings at different places, on the occasion of the celebration of high mass in her presence :—viz., " at Maunte, in the church of the Blessed Mary on the 19th of March, when she gave 13*s.* 4*d.* Another time, at Vernon, on Sunday, in cloth 'Palmar,' on the 21st of March, at grand mass in the castle, 6*s.* 8*d.* During her stay at Rouen, on the 23rd of March, in the monastery of the Blessed Mary of Rhotomarensis, she bestowed 13*s.* 4*d.* Also, on Ash-Wednesday, at grand mass, celebrated in her presence, in the castle of Rouen, she gave 6*s.* 8*d.* Another time, when the Lord's Supper was

"On the 1st of April she was at the same place and went that day to Pont Audemar."

"On the 2nd of April she went from Pont Audemar to Honnflete, and there she stayed until the 3rd of this month."

"On the 3rd of April Queen Margaret was conveyed by a boatman, called Collin Freon, and three of his friends, sailors, with supplies and provisions required, from Honnflete to a boat called the 'Cok John,' of Cherbourg, which had been especially appointed to convey 'the lady the queen' and some of her attendants. The rest of her household being conveyed in other boats by these sailors, to a boat called the 'Mary of Hampton,' also well furnished and supplied with provisions."

After such frequent sailing up and down the river Seine, to find herself upon the open sea and making fair progress towards England, must have been a delightful change to the young bride.

"On the 10th of April, while coasting between Portsmouth and Southampton, the royal squadron were serenaded from two Genoese galleys, having seven trumpeters on board, who were rewarded by the Queen with 23*s.* 4*d.*"

Let us turn now from this pleasing scene to the youthful monarch. Long, very long, had the royal bridegroom been waiting with patient anxiety for the arrival of his consort. He had been very desirous of receiving his bride with great splendour; but that poverty which had attended Margaret in her father's court seemed to await her also on the throne of her husband. It was some time before King Henry could raise the needful supplies to give his future consort a

administered, in presents, for its celebration, at high mass in the castle of Rouen, on Easter-day, 6*s.* 8*d.* Again, on 31st March, at the Abbey of Bocamshard, 6*s.* 8*d.* And at Honnflete in the church of the Blessed Mary, on the 3rd of April, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

due and fitting reception. Thus was she detained on the continent for several months, after her espousals, before she could be transported into England.*

The poor King was endeavouring to recruit his exhausted exchequer, and to restore some of the royal palaces† to a condition fit for a queen's residence; but, such was the destitution of the royal privy purse at this time, that King Henry was compelled to pawn his jewels and household plate to provide for the equipages and other requisites for his marriage, and for the coronation of his Queen.‡

It became necessary for King Henry to call a new Parliament, to obtain the supplies which he required; and, at this Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 23rd of February, 1445, the King being present, Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, explained, in a kind of political sermon, why they had been summoned. His text was, "Justice and peace have kissed each other." He then made known the suspension of warfare in France, and the union of their monarch with Margaret, the daughter of René of Anjou; and he added, "by these two happy events, he nothing doubted, but, through God's grace, justice and peace should be firmly established throughout the realm." Upon this a half-fifteenth was accorded by Parliament to defray the expenses of

* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Carte; Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet; Barante; Henry; Lingard.

† These were at Eltham, Sheen, Westminster, and the Tower.

‡ As early as the year 1443 we find King Henry had been occupied in preparing for the arrival of his beloved consort. To the abbot of St. Edmondsbury he addressed some curious original letters for the loan of 100 marks, and for horses, chariots, &c., upon the occasion of his marriage.

We also learn that on the 11th of September, 1444, the King sent over, for the use of the Queen and her attendants, some horses, described under the head "necessaries;" as 51 horses, 4 palfrey horses, 24 swift horses, 6 carriage horses, 8 summer horses, and 7 horses for summer office, and 2 pack horses; these, with various other costs and expenses for 182 days required—(the first day being reckoned, and not the last)—came to 128*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*

the marriage, and of the late commission for the truce with France.

From a letter of King Henry's we learn that he waited until his commissioners had raised supplies by loan before he was able, as he said, "to procure 2,000 marks for his most best beloved wife the Queen, for her coming now unto our presence, and 2,000 more for a jewel of St. George, lately bought."*

As early as the month of November King Henry had been in expectation of his bride's arrival; and in writing at this time to the Goldsmiths' Company he says, "He trusts to have oure entirely well-beloved wife the quene wythin right brief time;" and enjoins them that they "wol prepare to meet her in most goodly wise." This they afterwards did, and arrayed themselves most bravely with "baudericks of golde about their necks and short hoods of scarlette jagged."

When the funds so absolutely necessary for the reception of Queen Margaret had been procured, the embassy, with their fair sovereign, had proceeded to the shores of England. After a favourable passage in the "Cok John," the Queen arrived with all her noble escort on the 10th of April at Porchester, where King Henry had long awaited her. The voyage had caused the Queen to be so much indisposed that, when they landed, the Marquis of Suffolk was obliged to convey her from the vessel to the shore in his arms; and in a letter from King Henry we learn that his beloved consort immediately fell "syke of ye labor and indisposition of ye see," and that the marriage was necessarily deferred.

1445. Holinshed; Stow; Rymer's Fœdera.

Scarcely had Queen Margaret set her foot on shore than a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning commenced, truly an inauspicious circumstance, which, added to her bodily indisposition, might have appalled

* See Appendix, p. 418.

a less energetic mind than that of Margaret of Anjou. The people of Porchester, notwithstanding the tempest, came in crowds to gaze upon their fair sovereign, and welcomed her loyally, strewing their streets with rushes for her to pass over.*

In Porchester Castle† the first interview took place between Queen Margaret and King Henry the Sixth; the monarch receiving his bride in a manner proportionate to her birth and merit.

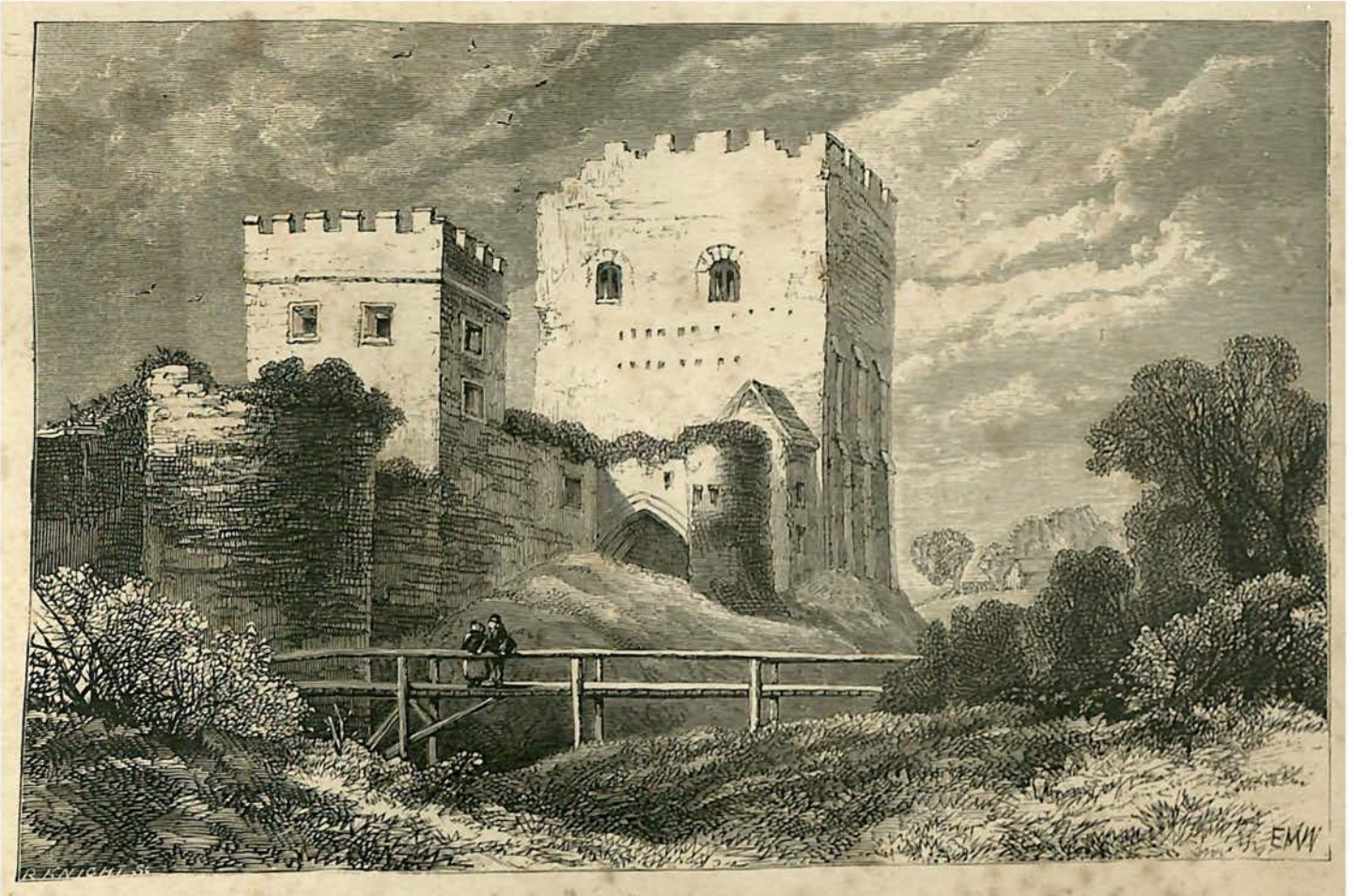
At this meeting, when Margaret first appeared in the full charm of youth and beauty, so radiant was she that "the King could scarce look her steadfastly in the face," yet these pleasing attractions hardly equalled her remarkable mental endowments; while, by her amiability alone, she had won many hearts on her progress to the shores of England.

The King bestowed great rewards on all who had accompanied her, from the Countess of Shrewsbury even to the master of the vessel‡ which brought her over from France, as we learn from Rymer's "Fœdera," in which are many minute and curious documents, signed by the King, one of which related to a safe conduct to certain Scotchmen, who, with their servants, desired to be present at the Queen's coronation. Another enumerates some New Year's gifts, bestowed by King Henry in the preceding year; also the following description of the wedding ring: viz., "A ring of gold garnished with a fair rubie sometyme given unto us, by our Bel Oncle, the Cardinal of Englande, with the which we were sacred, on the day of our coronation at Parys, delivered unto Mat-

* Porchester was a seaport in Hampshire of great note; near it Portsmouth now stands.—*Drayton.*

† Holinshed; Stow; Carte; Rapin; Baudier; Lingard; English Chron. Camd. Soc.

‡ This was Thomas Adam, who received from the King an annual pension of 20 marks for life.—*See Appendix*, p. 420.



PORCHESTER CASTLE, HANTS

(To face page 266, vol. i.)

thew Philip, to breke, and thereof to meke another ryng, for the Queen's wedding ryng."*

From Porchester, Queen Margaret proceeded on the same day of her landing, the 10th of April, with King Henry to Southampton, by water; and here she rested five days in a convent, called "God's House," before she could be conveyed to Southwyke, to be united to the King. This building has been described as a famous hospital, founded in the time of King John by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas.† Here the young Queen seems to have stayed even beyond the 15th of the month, being visited by a severe and dangerous disorder immediately on her landing. Doubtless great care and attention were bestowed on the royal invalid in this noted hospital, and especially by "Master Francisco, the Queen's physician, who received on the 10th of April, by command of the Marquis of Suffolk, at Southampton, 69*s.* 2*d.* for divers aromatic confections, particularly and specially purchased by him, and privately made into medicine for the preservation of the health of the said lady, the Queen, as well by sea as by land."‡

We are further informed that King Henry was obliged to furnish considerable additions to the wardrobe of his bride, which had been so scantily furnished, (owing to the indigence of the Angevine prince, her father,) that her array was not suitable to her rank as Queen of England. This was required to be done

* See Appendix, p. 417; Issue Rolls; Stow; Baudier; Kennet.

† Speed; Davies's Chron.; Stevenson's Monasteries; Addit. to Dugdale's Monasticon.

‡ Another payment had been also made to Perrin Arogeart, hired to assist and work in the office of cookery expressly, paid out of regard to him, and as a gift of our lady, the Queen, by order of the Earl of Suffolk, at Southampton, on the 15th of April, the sum of 13*s.* 4*d.*

previously to her appearance in public before her new subjects. Accordingly "John Pole, a valet, was sent from Southampton to London with three horses, by command of the Marquis of Suffolk, to fetch Margaret Chamberlayne, tyre maker, to be conducted into the presence of our lady, the Queen, touching various business of the said lady, the Queen, and for going and returning, the said Margaret Chamberlayne was paid there by gift of the Queen, on the 15th of April, 20*s.*"

From the mention made by the royal bridegroom in a letter written in his usual quaint style to his Chancellor, we discover that the malady which had so very unexpectedly detained his beloved consort was no other than the small-pox. This alarming disease caused great anxiety to the King, who, after having so long waited for his expected bride, was not a little heartstricken at this sudden affliction on the beloved object of his affections. Leaving the Queen to the care of her attendants and others in the hospital, "God's House," for a time, "the King stayed at Southwyke, passing his careful moments, as well as he could, amidst the charming pastures and forests of Southbere and Porchester." We are told that King Henry could not keep the feast of St. George at Windsor Castle, on account of "this sickness of his most dear and best beloved wife, the Queen." How long this anxious period lasted we are not exactly informed; but when the Queen recovered, happily without any detriment to her uncommon beauty, she rejoined the King at Southwyke, where he had waited, still watching with deep interest until she became convalescent. Finding then that she was still unable to bear the fatigues of travelling, he caused his marriage to be performed, with all the necessary ceremony.*

* In the year 1133 King Henry I. had founded in the church of St.

On Thursday, the 22nd of April, 1445, Kemp, Archbishop of York, united the royal pair in the Priory Church of Southwyke, near Porchester, in Hampshire.* The venerable Bishop of Salisbury, Master Aiscough, gave them the blessing, saying, "This marriage, the people believe, will be pleasing "to God and to the realm, because that peace and "abundant crops came to us with it. And I pray "the Heavenly King that he will so protect them with "his own right hand that their love may never be dis- "solved, and that they may receive such blessing as "the Psalmist speaks of; 'Thy wife shall be as a "fruitful vine by the sides of thy house: thy children "like olive plants round about thy table. Behold, "that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the "Lord.'" (*Psal.* cxxviii.)

1445. Holinshed; Biondi; Sandford; Carte; Stow; Henry; Villaret.

The learned prelate made a discourse at some length on the dignity of marriage, and in praise of that sacrament. In conclusion, he said, "I desire that my lord "may abide in that sacred alliance on which he has "now entered, and may in faith possess these good "things of marriage which have been assigned to it by "St. Augustine—'*faith*, that he may not break his con- "jugal vow—*offspring*, which may both be lovingly "brought up and religiously educated—and a *sacra- "mental vow*, that the wedlock may never be dissolved: "for these are the great things of marriage.' Oh! "may this wedding be, as was in old time the wedding "of Tobias and Sarah, of which it is said, that 'they "celebrated their marriage feast in the fear of the

Mary's at Porchester a priory of canons of the order of St. Austin, which seems to have been not long after removed to Southwyke, where it continued until the dissolution.—*Dugdale; Speed; Tanner's Notitie Monastica.*

* Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Carte; Howell; Eng. Chron., Camd. Soc.; Baker; Speed; Sandford; Toplis; Pol. Vergil; Stow; Rymer's Fœdera; Beckington; Kennet; Sharon Turner; Henry; Warner's Hampshire.

"Lord.' (*Tobias* ix.) 'Oh! may it be the cause of "peace among the people, even as peace was given "unto the Jews on the marriage of Esther.' (*Esther* "ix. 18.) 'Oh! may it be so high and holy an "ordering, that, at the last, those words may be "worthily verified in the case of the married pair, "'Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage "supper of the Lamb.'" (*Rev.* xix.)*

When the marriage ceremony was concluded, Queen Margaret received as a bridal gift, from one of her attendants, a lion,—a very unsuitable present for a lady's pet; but it was graciously received, and conveyed, at the King's expense, to the Tower of London,† Where this noble *compagnon de voyage* came from we are not informed; but his keep, and travelling expenses, with a separate carriage, were included in the outlay of the King's servants, the sum of 3*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* being paid to John Fouke of Peryn, galleyman, who took charge of the lion.

This strange gift would seem to have been made from one acquainted with the courage and fortitude of the Queen, and given in compliment to those high personal qualities which became afterwards so prominent in the eventful and stormy circumstances of her reign. Had the King himself been able to wield the sceptre, how different would have been Queen Margaret's course; but the whole career of Henry VI. showed him to be a good and pious man, but totally unequal to rule a divided realm like that of England. He loved the Queen with an ardour to which his heart and pure mind required him to set no bounds; and they might have been happy in their marriage had not the personal friends of the Queen been unfortu-

* Capgrave's Illust. Henries; English Chron. Camd. Soc.; Davies's Chron.

† Robert Mansfield was the keeper of the menagerie in this reign, and had a good salary for his office.

nately regarded as the enemies of the people. The King, and also the Queen, saw the evils of war and the desirableness of peace, and they laboured incessantly to this end; but the people were not cured of their *penchant* for war, and preferred the uncertain spoils of victory to the more certain gains of trade and industry.

As soon as the Queen could travel, (about the beginning of May,) she commenced her progress to the capital, which she entered on the 18th of May, 1445. In her journey to the metropolis she received every possible demonstration of respect and admiration, and even of enthusiasm. 1445. Holinshed; Rapin.

All ranks of her new subjects eagerly came forward to welcome the arrival of a princess, of whose personal and mental accomplishments they had heard so much; and her youth, beauty, and elegance converted even her enemies into admirers, making them forget their prejudices against her, on account of her relationship to the royal family of France, and the poverty of her father which had obliged King Henry to receive his bride without a dower. All those who had most opposed this marriage now became eager to evince their respect to their charming sovereign. The Duke of Gloucester, especially, hastened at this time to prove to his new mistress that principle alone had actuated him in his late opposition, and he sought, by his marked attentions to the Queen, to show her that he also shared in the general admiration of her personal charms. At the head of five hundred of his retainers, handsomely arrayed in his livery and badge, he met her at Blackheath, and conducted her to his palace, named "Placentia," at Greenwich, where she was invited to refresh herself; the Duke taking this opportunity to ingratiate himself into her favour.*

* Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Carte; Stow; London Chron.; Kennet; Speed; Henry; Lingard; Baudier; Sharon Turner.

The chief nobility rivalled each other in the splendour of their equipages and their tokens of respect, bringing their retainers and servants in liveries, and exhibiting all the pomp and splendour possible. They wore in their caps and bonnets, in compliment to the Queen, the humble Marguerite, or daisy, which seemed even more surprisingly to have started into notice and esteem than the beautiful queen herself;* and, as the poet writes,—

"Of either sex, who doth not now delight
"To wear the daisy for Queen Marguerite?" †

This little flower, chosen by the Queen, was, indeed, a true emblem of her conjugal fidelity; for amidst the misfortunes and rude tempests of her after life, her constancy to her husband, and his fortunes, remained unshaken.‡

The authorities and livery companies of the city also came out to meet Queen Margaret, as well as many of inferior rank. These were dressed in blue gowns and red hoods, with sleeves embroidered, each of them with some device, expressive of their art or trade, by which they might be known. By this equestrian procession the new Queen and her escort were conducted through Southwark to the city, and lodged in the bishop's palace, near St. Paul's.§

Upon her entrance into the capital, the Queen was greeted by many splendid shows and goodly pageants, agreeable to the taste of the age. Southwark and the city of London were "beautified," as Stow relates, "with pageants of divers histories, and other shows of welcome; marvellous, costly, and sumptuous." There were represented gods and goddesses,

* This little flower also shone conspicuous upon the royal plate.
† Drayton. ‡ Holinshed; Stow.
§ Holinshed; Stow; Fabian; Carte; London Chron.; Baudier; Kennet; Chron. of London Bridge.

angels, and ancient worthies. The cardinal virtues, personified, were seen issuing forth from artificial woods and temples, constructed of pasteboard and other flimsy materials, and were made to recite the praises of Queen Margaret, while they scattered flowers and garlands at her feet. On her approach to London Bridge she was greeted by the most splendid of the famous pageants prepared for her by her admiring subjects. The first pageant, erected at the foot of London Bridge, was an allegorical representation of Peace and Plenty. The motto was,—

"Ingredimini et replete terram."
"Enter ye, and replenish the earth."

Then were the following lines addressed to the Queen:—

"Most Christian Princesse, by influence of grace,
"Daughter of Jerusalem, our plesaunce
"And joie, welcome as ever Princess was,
"With hert entire, and hool affiaunce;
"Cawser of welthe, joye, and abundaunce,
"Youre citee, your people, your subjects all,
"With hert, with worde, with dede, your highness to avaunce,
"Welcome! welcome! welcome! unto you call."

These verses were from the pen of Lydgate; he was the universal muse of his age, and so easy of access, that he was consulted on all occasions. He was the poet of the world, as well as of the monastery to which he belonged. His talents were resorted to, with equal success, whether a mask for the King was intended, or a May-game for the aldermen and sheriffs. Lydgate was also the champion of the fair sex, and wrote a panegyric, not on their personal charms or accomplishments, but giving a recital of their inflexible chastity and religious fortitude, by which he ennobled their character, and gave a better demonstration of his own respect and esteem.

Upon the bridge another pageant was placed. It represented Noah's ark, bearing the words,

"Jam non ultra irascar super terram;"
"Henceforth there shall no more be a curse upon the earth."*

The verses recited before it were:—

"So trusteth your people, with assuraunce,
"Throwghe your grace, and high benignitie,
"'Twixt the realmes two, England and France,
"Pees shall approche, rest and unity;
"Mars set asyde with all his cruelty,
"Which too longe hathe trowbled the realmes twayne;
"Bydynge your comforte, in this adversité,
"Most Christian Princesse, our Lady Soverayne.

"Right as whilom, by God's myght and grace,
"Noe this arke dyd forge and ordayne,
"Wherin he and his might escape, and passe
"The flood of vengeaunce caused by trespasse;
"Conveyed about as God list him to gyne, [gye]
"By meane of mercy found a restinge place
"After the flud upon this Armonie.

"Unto the Dove that browght the braunche of peas,
"Resemblinge your simpleness, columbyne,
"Token and sygne that the flood shuld cesse,
"Conduct by grace and power devyne;
"Source of comfort 'gynneth faire to shine
"By your presence, whereto we synge and seyne
"Welcome of joye right extendet lyne,
"Moste Christian Princesse, our Lady Soverayne."

At Leadenhall was "Madam Grace, Chancellor de Dieu," and again verses were recited. At St. Margaret's Inn, Cornhill, other verses were given. At the Great Conduit, in Cheapside, another recitation was made, and "the five wise and five foolish virgins" were represented. Lastly, at the Cross in the Cheape, "the heavenly Jerusalem;" and at Paul's Gate, "the funeral, resurrection, and judgment;" both these last having, like the preceding pageants, appropriate verses from the pen of Lydgate.†

* Gen. viii. 21.

† Stow; Fabian; Londiniana; Harl. MS.; Chron. Lond. Bridge; Speed; Sharon Turner; Warton's Eng. Poetry.

Amidst these demonstrations of joy, and of welcome, was the admiring Queen conducted in royal state into the metropolis, previous to her coronation; everything calculated to afford her pleasure having been provided at considerable expense.

Margaret, who was at that time little more than fifteen years of age, must have been highly gratified with her reception in England. After her splendid progress through the city, she was conducted to the Tower, where she reposed during one day. Then followed the ceremony of coronation, which took place on Sunday (being the first Sunday after Trinity), the 30th of May, 1445. The Queen rode to Westminster Abbey, where the solemn rites of her coronation were performed by John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and were attended with even more than the accustomed magnificence, for Parliament was then sitting, having met on the 25th day of February, previous to the arrival of the Queen.

1445. Holinshed; Biondi; Rapin; Speed; Carte; Lingard; Sismondi; Henry.

The coronation feasts were splendid.* No expense was spared, and various royal gifts were bestowed, and many valuable crown jewels redeemed, in order to be presented to the beautiful queen at "the tyme of ye solempnytie of her coronation." Amongst these were the "Ilkyngton coler," a costly gift; also a "pectoral," adorned with gems, for which King Henry had just paid a sum equal to £15,000.†

A tournament was held for three days, in proof of the universal joy of the nation. The feasting being held within the sanctuary, and the jousts in the courtyard before the Abbey, and in the royal presence. The people departed, as the contemporary chroniclers have declared, "well satisfied."‡

* To the chief butler alone was given 1,000*l.*

† See Appendix, p. 419.

‡ Holinshed; Biondi; Fabian; Carte; Eng. Chron. Camd. Soc.; Hall; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Baker; Chron. of Brute; bib. Harl.; Stow;

Such was the commencement of the career of Queen Margaret,—such the favourable reception of the fair sovereign from whom so much was expected! The disappointment of the people, however, began early to be manifested, and sad and bitter must have been the reflections of Margaret, at a subsequent period, upon those events which, after such a gracious reception, had deprived her of the love of her people.

This marriage has been universally esteemed most unfortunate for King Henry, for his Queen, and for the English nation.* Those historians, however, who call Queen Margaret "proud and vindictive,"† and who attribute all the evils of this disastrous reign to her wilful passions, must surely be blinded by prejudice, and forgetful of that impartiality which ought ever to be the distinguishing characteristic of an historian.

We are also more especially guided to liberality in our judgment of this queen, when we reflect on the general high esteem with which she was regarded by her own nation, and by the French king; and when we consider the united praises, by all historians, of her early character and conduct. One author informs us —"her talents and noble qualities had been so much celebrated, that it was reasonable to expect, that when she should mount the throne, they would break out, and shine with still superior lustre." Another says, "she was a princess who, to the beauties of her body, added all the perfections of the mind." A third says, "she was endowed with an excellent understanding, sagacity, and prudence, very reasonable and considerate, and diligent in all her designs, &c."‡ Again, we are told that "in personal beauty she was superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men;"

Toplis; Baudier; Rapin; Sismondi; Lond. Chron.; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Beckington; Cont. Hist. Croyland.

* Holinshed; Hall; Speed; Rapin; Stow.

† Biondi; Villaret. ‡ Hume; Baudier; Female Worthies.

and another writer says of this queen, that "she was a beautiful woman, and of a genius and capacity superior to most women; and also of a bold and masculine spirit."*

It should also be remembered that at the age of fifteen, when, notwithstanding her aspiring temper, she could not have acquired much experience, she was at once introduced to a court where two violent and turbulent factions prevailed; to a nation prepared, by the example of their governors, for mutiny and complaints; and to a weak king, who, far from being able to govern others, had scarcely a will of his own.

Of the duties of Margaret's newly-acquired dignity, perhaps this last, the guidance of her husband, was not the least difficult to accomplish. As her husband and sovereign she owed to him respect and obedience; but even these the easy temper and feeble frame of King Henry disposed him to yield up, while the natural goodness of his heart claimed only the love and good-will of his consort, his servants, and his subjects. Meanwhile his consort was called upon to rule, almost without a helm or guide; yet we are not informed of any open violation of duty on the part of the youthful queen, but on the contrary, she even preserved the affections of her husband entire, and remained faithful to his fortunes throughout life.

King Henry, who had been easily gained by the praises bestowed on the Princess Margaret before he beheld her, was even more readily captivated by her charms when united to her. Won by her address, he resigned the reins of government to her more able hands; and Margaret, quickly perceiving the incapacity of her husband, seized the opportunity of appropriating to herself an authority, which, probably, she had been desirous of obtaining.† Her lively and ambitious

* Lingard; Toplis. † Baker; Henry.

temper might have made her eager to reach that open arena, where the natural vigour and activity of her character would have room to unfold itself.

It was for her vigorous and aspiring disposition that Margaret had been chosen by the English ministers to be their queen; and they believed that they should, by her means, render their own authority permanent. Nor were they mistaken in their calculations; as they had foreseen, Margaret, ere long, obtained a complete ascendency over the King, and it was then that, not being unmindful of the individuals to whom she owed her exaltation, she eagerly adopted the sentiments and projects of the party whose selfish purposes she had been selected to advance. Admirably, yet perhaps unconsciously, did she further their ignoble views; for she not only confirmed them in the good-will and favour of their sovereign, but she even entered into their passions and interests, and especially in their aversion to the Duke of Gloucester. She attached herself to their party, seconded all their measures, and, in short, as the ministers' sole object was to keep on good terms with their royal mistress, they very soon became strictly united.*

The party, which ruled in the Cabinet, and also the land, had projected this foreign alliance for their sovereign to further their own ends; and they not only rewarded all who accompanied the Queen to England, but handsomely paid her foreign suite. This lavish expenditure, however, was a cause, subsequently, of complaint on the part of the Queen's enemies.†

* Rymer's Fœdera; W. of Worcester; Baudier; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Villaret; Smollett; Allen's York.

† Issue Rolls.

CHAPTER V.

"Thou know'st how I (thy beauty to advance)
"For thee refused the infanta of France,
"Brake the contract Duke Humphry first did make
"'Twixt Henry and the Princess Arminac;
"Only that here thy presence I might gain,
"I gave Duke Ragner Anjou, Mons, and Maine,
"Thy peerless beauty for a dower to bring,
"As of itself sufficient for a king."—DRAYTON.

(*The* DUKE OF GLOUCESTER *to* KING HENRY.)

"Ah, gracious lord, these days are dangerous!
"Virtue is chok'd with foul ambition,
"And charity chas'd hence by rancour's hand;
"Foul subornation is predominant,
"And equity exil'd your highness' land.
"I know their complot is to have my life;
"And if my death might make this island happy,
"And prove the period of their tyranny,
"I would expend it with all willingness;
"But mine is made the prologue to their play;
"For thousands more, that yet suspect no peril,
"Will not conclude their plotted tragedy."

SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

The Queen obtains great influence—Gloucester's accusation—His popularity, arrest, and death—His character, literature, and care of the State—King Henry's pusillanimity—The mock execution of the Duke's servants—Death of Winchester—His character—Colleges founded—The Queen's arbitrary rule—Reproaches of Suffolk—His defence—Loyalty of the people—The Queen's mistrust of York—His insinuations—He is deprived of the Regency of France—York and Somerset's opposition—Honours conferred on Suffolk.

THE new queen soon obtained great influence in the kingdom, and the English people appeared to be disposed to keep the peace with France, of which their fair sovereign had been the pledge. As had been expected, Queen Margaret of Anjou was found to be clever, proud, courageous, and enterprising. Her

beauty and wisdom surpassed that of all others of her times, while her courage exceeded that of her own sex. She also added much foresight; indeed, her great wit, skill, diligence, grace, and many admirable talents, qualified her to obtain that renown and distinction of which she had already become ambitious. At times she was irritated by obstacles, and disposed to take sudden resolves which she would no less suddenly alter, and her desire for absolute power caused her subsequently to be charged with bringing trouble on the kingdom.* There might appear, indeed, to be some foundation for this charge, considering her first acts and conduct towards the King's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. His decided opposition to her marriage had already prepossessed her against him, and she soon discovered that in spite of his influence and popularity with the people, (with whom he was deservedly a favourite,) his frequent contentions with the ministers increased their animosity against him, and this caused some trouble, and served to irritate the mind of Queen Margaret.

The great talents and beauty of the Queen enabled her in a short time to obtain a complete ascendency over the mind of the King. She observed that he was quite unable to act for himself, and that he was entirely under the direction of the Duke of Gloucester; therefore rightly judging that Henry, being of age to govern, ought not to be kept under such control, she became anxious to effect a change, and determined gradually to release the King from this thraldom, and to deprive the Duke of his great power.

It cannot be surprising, nay, it might even appear natural, that Queen Margaret, on finding this position of affairs, should have felt ambitious of holding the reins of government herself, especially as she was "desirous

* Barante; Monfaucon; Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Lingard; Mezerai; Toplis.

of honour." Her early character showed her worthy of obtaining this honour, as historians all testify; for, say they, "in proportion as King Henry was feeble in mind and body, his queen was found to be courageous, skilful, and intelligent." *

The Duke of Gloucester had endeavoured, as we have seen, to efface from the mind of his royal mistress the unfavourable impression which he had made by his opposition to her marriage to King Henry, by appearing with his retainers to welcome her upon her arrival; but this prudent step failed in its object, and the Queen still entertained feelings of resentment against him.† Young and inexperienced, as she was at this time, Queen Margaret could not appreciate the worth of this able minister, and while her gratitude towards her favourites for promoting her elevation to the throne of England served to unite their interests to hers, it had no less influence in alienating her friendship from the Duke. Unfortunately, the rage of the party she had chosen was bent against the object who had incurred her resentment, and she probably did not stay to balance the hypocritical motives of those who had ingratiated themselves into her favour: thus, the first step of this Queen in her public career, far from conciliating the hearts of her subjects, was the cause of their estrangement from her for ever.

It was, besides, the advice of King René to his daughter that she should, with her husband, assume the regal power, and not permit the control of ministers, as though they were not themselves of age to govern.‡

The Parliament, which was sitting at the time of Queen Margaret's arrival, had been adjourned twice; (the second time, on account of a pestilence in London,)

* Pol. Vergil; Holinshed; Milles's Catalogue; Daniel.
† Pol. Vergil; Villaret; Henry.
‡ Holinshed; Hall; Barante; Sharon Turner.

but, previous to this last prorogation, the Duke of Suffolk had made a speech to each of the Houses, filling them with hopes of peace, and praising his own services and conduct in the war, and also extolling his discretion and prudence in treating for the truce and contract of marriage so entirely to the satisfaction of the nation. His conduct, thus set forth in the fairest light, was readily approved, and he was secured from molestation for his advice to his master by the repeal of the stipulation at the treaty of Troyes, which obliged the parties contracting to make no peace or truce with the enemy without the consent of the three estates of this realm.*

1445. At this meeting, the Speaker recommended to the King's favour the Marquis of Suffolk, and in a long speech eulogized his valour and noble conduct, both at home and abroad, as deserving of some token of approbation, and particularly for his duty and promptitude in the charge intrusted to him concerning the marriage of the King with the Princess Margaret of Anjou. Upon this, the Duke of Gloucester fell on his knees, and humbly petitioned, with divers lords, that his Majesty would grant some especial favour to the Marquis of Suffolk, and King Henry willingly gave his gracious assent to an Act which declared the conduct of Suffolk true and loyal.

The part which the Duke of Gloucester took at this time seems unaccountable, since he had ever shown a steady opposition to this marriage; yet here he stood, foremost in soliciting the royal favour for Suffolk. The cession of Maine and Anjou were included in these acts of Suffolk, (although he carefully avoided alluding to this subject in his speech), and Gloucester must have approved of them, if he was sincere. As a member of the Council, he could not have been unacquainted

* Issue Rolls; Rymer's Fœdera; Stow.

with this, if even the Commons were ignorant of it. The Duke of Gloucester was subsequently charged with conspiring against the government; a charge which, had it been substantiated, would have accounted for his pretended friendship for Suffolk by which on this occasion he sought to disguise his real purpose.*

In the same Parliament an Act was passed to provide for the Queen's dower, but it only amounted to half the sum which had been assigned to the queens, her predecessors.

King Henry had already (in his Parliament, held on the 25th of February), by the advice of his lords spiritual and temporal, granted for the use of his beloved consort, Queen Margaret, the sum of £1,000; besides a handsome dower, by way of gift, "to have and to hold" to the end of her life, from the Feast of St. Michael of the ensuing year. The details of this dower are very curious,† giving a minute account of the various sources whence the smaller sums were derived. The aggregate amount, annually, was 5,000 marks, or £3,666 13*s.* 4*d.*, which had been finally settled as the dower of Queen Margaret. The tributary sums were drawn from many of the possessions of King Henry in various counties in England, viz., in Leicester, Northampton, and Warwick; in Stafford, Derby, Hereford, Oxford, and Bucks; also 40 marks per annum were gathered from the fruitful farm of Gunthorp, in the county of Nottingham; the castle and estate of Plecy, the manors of Walden and Dunmowe, with others in the counties of Essex, Hertford, Surrey, and Middlesex; an hotel in the city of London, called Blanch Appleton, with a house named Steward's Inn, in the parish of St. Olaves in that city; the castle and town of Hertford;‡

* Parl. Roll; Rymer; Speed; Stow; Lingard.

† See Appendix, p. 421.

‡ The manorial courts were held in the Queen's name at Hertford; and

Kenilworth, and other castles and manors. Besides these, certain castles and domains pertaining to Duke Henry of Lancaster, together with the lands and estates of the military and ecclesiastics, to the end of her life. Also, to the said consort of Henry, annually, a sum drawn from divers annuities pertaining to Henry, Duke of Cornwall, with other emoluments in England and Wales. It was further conceded, that "the said most beloved consort of Henry should by no means be burdened or compelled to return any computation of profits, or returns of the said castles and other things promised, so that she might be quiet, and unannoyed in any manner."

All these things were, "by the said authority confided, given, conceded, and assigned on the 19th day of March, in the twenty-fourth year of Henry's reign, by the said Parliament of Henry, then sitting."*

Of the two years succeeding this auspicious marriage scarcely a record can be discovered; but it appears to have been a tranquil period, since we learn that the King and the Queen occasionally shared in the enjoyment of the chase, their favourite diversion. King Henry, however, took no part in the tournaments, in which Lord Rivers alone appeared to support the honour of England; and the calamitous civil warfare, within a short space, entirely superseded all these mimic sports.

1445. In the month of July, 1445, a special embassy was sent into England by Charles VII., for the purpose of establishing a permanent peace between the two realms.

The Archbishop of Rheims, the Counts of Laval

a horse-fair, by her permission and charter to the bailiffs, was also held wheresoever they found it expedient.—*Rot. Parl.; Turner's Hertford; Encyclopædia Britannica.*

* Rot. Parl.

and Vendôme, the Lord of Precigny, and other nobles, with ambassadors of the King of Spain, René King of Sicily, and the Duke of Alençon, with a hundred knights and esquires, (also three hundred horses), all richly dressed in silk and cloth of gold, left Calais, on the 3rd of July, for Dover, whence they proceeded to Canterbury and Rochester, where they tarried several days. They entered London on the 14th of July, escorted by King Henry's ambassadors, and were met by the Lord Mayor, and sixty citizens clothed in scarlet and fur, and all the "companies" of the city, richly attired, the streets being thronged with thousands of spectators.

After this joyful reception the embassy proceeded by water to Westminster, where they were received by the King with much ceremony. His Majesty wore a robe of red cloth of gold; he was seated on a high stool of blue tapestry, and surrounded by golden tapestry bearing the arms of France. With the King were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal of York, the Dukes of Gloucester, Buckingham, and Warwick, and many others.

King Henry took by the hand each member of the deputation, after which the Archbishop of Rheims addressed him in French, and presented letters from King Charles. These were gladly received by the King, who replied through his Chancellor in Latin, rejoicing much at the good disposition of his uncle towards himself, and at his desire for peace. Another interview with the Ambassadors took place on the following day, when the King more fully expressed his own wishes in respect to the peace. The Embassy were entertained by the nobility for several days, and on the 30th of the month the King received them again, at Fulham. After a long private conference the final reply given was, that King Henry must deliberate,

and might possibly confer himself with King Charles in France, or send deputies for this purpose.

How remarkable that an embassy so heartily welcomed should have so signally failed in accomplishing its object!

1445. The following letter addressed to the King of France by Queen Margaret, before the close of the same year, bears evidence of her regard for her uncle, and is expressive of her own desire for peace.

"To the very high and powerful prince, our very dear
" uncle of France, Marguerite, by the grace of
" God, Queen of France and of England, greet-
" ing, with all affection and cordial love.

" Most high and powerful prince, our very dear " uncle, we have received by master Guillaume Cousinet, " the master of requests of your household, and Jehan " Havart, esquire, your valet carver, your gracious " letters, of the contents of which, because we know " that you have a lively memory of them, we do not at " present make long record."

" But inasmuch as we perceive the good love and " the entire will that you have towards my lord and " myself, the great desire which you have to see us, " and also the fruitful disposition and liberal inclination " which we know to be in you in regard to peace " and good concord between both of you, we herein " praise our Creator, and thank you thereof with a " good heart, and as kindly as ever we may; for no " greater pleasure can we have in this world, than to " see an arrangement for a final peace between him " and you, as well for the nearness of lineage in which " you stand the one to the other, as also for the relief " and repose of the Christian people, which has been " so long disturbed by war. And herein to the pleasure " of our lord, we will, upon our part, stretch forth the

" hand, and will employ ourselves herein effectually to " our power in such wise that reason would that you, " and all others, ought herein to be gratified.

" And as to the deliverance which you desire to " have of the Comté of Maine, and other matters con- " tained in your said letters, we understand that my " said lord has written to you at considerable length " about this: and yet herein we will do for your plea- " sure the best that we can do, as we have always " done, as you may be certified of this by the above- " said Cousinet and Havart, whom may it graciously " please you to hear, and give credence to what shall " be related to you by them upon our part at this time, " making us frequently acquainted with your news, and " of your good prosperity and health; and therein we " will take very great pleasure, and will have singular " consolation."

" Most high and powerful prince, our very dear " uncle, we pray the sweet Jesus Christ that He will " keep you in His blessed protection."

" Given at Shene the xvii day of December,"

" MARGUERITE." *

In the year 1446 King Henry visited Bristol, and took up his residence near Radcliffe church. The house he occupied " being that over which lately stood a crucifix, and near to Radcliffe," was doubtless the Hospital of St. John the Baptist; but that King Henry bestowed it on the Knights Hospitallers is an error. The King lodged there, since the castle at this time was probably much dilapidated; yet why he abode in a religious house inferior to many others in Bristol, does not appear, especially as the Queen was always with him, and they must have had a considerable escort.† 1446.

* Stevenson's Letters. † Seyer's Memoirs of Bristol.

1446. On St. Andrew's Day, of this year, in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, Lodovicus Cordona, D.D., presented the King with a Golden Rose from Pope Eugène IV., at the same time expressing its property and application, with the usual ceremony respecting the said rose. On this occasion were present John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of York, and the Dukes of York and Exeter.

This remarkable custom (viz., the presentation of a Golden Rose to crowned heads, or foreign potentates, distinguished for piety) commenced in the fifteenth century; and it was intended that such favours should keep them in more willing obedience to the papal authority. The gift to the King of England was therefore, at this period, peculiarly significant.

Queen Margaret had early attached herself to the Duchess-dowager of Bedford, who had been one of the noble escort who brought her from her native land; nor did she forget the early kindness of this lady, who for some years retained her influence over her royal mistress. Having married a simple esquire, and thus leaving her high estate as Duchess-dowager of Bedford, she resided in her castle of Grafton, part of her dower. There she educated her numerous family; and feeling by degrees the necessity of providing for them, she sought to advance their interests by the assistance of Queen Margaret of Anjou, with whom her eldest daughter, the beautiful Elizabeth Woodville, was placed as maid of honour, her sisters also receiving promises of promotion and favour.†

The Queen did not bring over any of her own relations, however needy, to share her fortunes in this

* Peck's Stamford.

† Elizabeth at a later period married Sir John Gray of Grosby, and shared her husband's dangers in the campaign in which he lost his life. —*Hall.*

country, neither did she engage foreign domestics as her attendants, with a few exceptions. Her suite consisted of English ladies; she early became acquainted with the language of this country, and readily adopted its customs. It was not until, in later years, when she was reduced to the greatest extremities, that she applied for aid from her native land.

While the advice of King René had possibly some influence with his daughter, there is no proof that Queen Margaret did any injury to the Duke of Gloucester, by predisposing his nephew the King against him, for the Cardinal had already undermined his credit with Henry before the arrival of the Queen. Besides the Cardinal of Winchester, the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Suffolk looked upon the Duke of Gloucester as their common enemy, and they were at this time supported by the power and favour of their Queen.

The Duke of Gloucester had indeed much to fear from these his enemies, when, as we are told, they "persuaded, incensed, and exhorted the Queen to look well upon the expenses and revenues of the realm, and thereof to call account, whereby she should evidently perceive that Gloucester had not so much advanced and preferred the commonwealth and public utility, as his own private ends and peculiar objects."* Thus led on by these ministers, (who considered their authority insecure while Gloucester retained any power whatever,) Queen Margaret, although so talented and virtuous, was apparently involved in some measures injurious to her reputation, and fatal in their results to the nation. By uniting herself so closely in the interests of the avowed enemies of the Duke, the Queen ultimately drew on herself the odium of that guilt

* Hall's Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Carte; Lingard.

which should have only attached to her ministers. Some writers affirm that these ministers had preconcerted the ruin of the Duke whatever it might cost them, and that to further these views they had selected Margaret of Anjou for their Queen.† Added to the number of the Duke's adversaries, there were other powerful individuals, who, prepared for mischief and violence, were envious of Gloucester. Of these especially was conspicuous the Duke of Buckingham, who entertained a private pique against him for having promoted the advancement of Henry, Earl of Warwick, to the precedence of every duke, thus wounding the pride of many of the nobility of England. Buckingham's pompous array of titles, and his lineal descent from the same race as the rival kings of York and Lancaster, made him unwilling to forgive any infringement of his aristocratic dignity; thus he stood foremost in the confederacy to humble the power of Gloucester, for having once presumed to be greater than himself. The Marquis of Suffolk, who owed his elevation to the Cardinal, lost no opportunity to insinuate to his master, that the Cardinal was, of all his subjects, the most to be confided in; thus daily sinking the credit of Gloucester, whose counsels were always opposed to those of Beaufort. Another who was devoted to the Cardinal, the Archbishop of York, was also instrumental in confirming the suspicions of the King. In short, they so contrived by their united efforts, that Henry daily gave his uncle some new mortification, which the haughty and impetuous spirit of Gloucester could not brook without complaints or threats against the authors of these affronts. His resentment, however, only hastened his ruin.‡ The

* Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Hall; Barante; Rapin; Speed; Henry; Hume.

† Villaret; Henry; Hume.

‡ Pol. Vergil; Speed; Rymer's Fœdera; Rapin.

frequent attacks of his enemies, added to the disgrace and captivity of his wife, were motives quite sufficient for his retiring from court; some assert, however, that the Duke's great power had excited the jealousy of the Queen, who was ambitious to reign alone. Certain it is, that Queen Margaret's first step was to sanction the endeavours of the Duke's enemies to exclude him from the Council-chamber, and from all share in the government. In this attempt the Cardinal of Winchester and the Archbishop of York were the most active. Some persons were suborned to bring false accusations against the Duke concerning his conduct during the Protectorate; the chief of which were, that he had put to death several individuals upon his own authority, and that he had aggravated the sentence passed on others.

Such, however, was the rigorous administration of justice by this virtuous prince, that it had solely called forth the enmity of those who feared the just punishment of their crimes, and who hated him for his plainness in declaring their offences.*

The Duke of Gloucester had ever spoken in the Council-chamber with the freedom to which his birth, rank, and services entitled him; but this only excited the rage of his enemies, who oppressed him and counteracted his influence. He had no longer any weight in the Cabinet. The Duke's power was, however, considerable in the kingdom, owing to his popularity with the people, who believed he was zealous for the interests and honour of his country; and from his high rank and extensive domains, and also being the presumptive heir to the throne.†

When the Duke of Gloucester appeared before the Council to reply to the charges preferred against him, 1446. Rapin; Holinshed.

* Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Pol. Vergil.
† Barante; Villaret.

so ably did he prove his innocence, and so clear and convincing was the evidence he gave, that even his enemies, who were his judges, were compelled to acquit him, and to desist from their projects. The citizens of London raised great commotions in consequence of this attack upon the character of the "Good Duke," and the praises of the public favourite were re-echoed throughout the streets of the metropolis, and curses denounced upon his enemies.* From this time Gloucester was rising in the public estimation, and the increase of his popularity still augmented the wrath and jealousy of his political antagonists, who, it is said, became convinced that nothing short of the ruin of the Duke would enable them to establish their own power. They feared, and with reason, that in the event of Gloucester one day mounting the throne, he would inflict a just punishment on them for the crimes he had so often endeavoured to expose. The death of Gloucester was consequently resolved upon, and the ministers were not slow in effecting their wicked purpose. They did not resort to the common course of justice in their iniquitous proceedings, for they had already found it impracticable, and open assassination was too hazardous an attempt.

These crafty ministers devised a new and certain means to get rid of their rival, and by which they were at the same time enabled to conceal the authors of the crime.† It has been asserted that this means for effecting the destruction of the Duke was invented by Queen Margaret, or at least received her sanction, and that the ministers would scarcely have ventured of themselves to attempt the life of the presumptive heir to the throne. It is added that the Queen's accustomed activity and energy led the people to believe

* Rapin; Henry; Holinshed; Biondi.
† Holinshed; Hall; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

that, without her consent, the enemies of the Duke could not have dared to take his life.* That it should be said the Queen was implicated in such a crime, merely on account of her natural temperament, seems unjust. Still more surprising it appears, on reflection, that one of our historians, who in relating other facts has been remarkably circumstantial, should on this subject have contented himself with bare insinuations as the foundation for this opinion.

But historians differ much with regard to the part Queen Margaret took in this transaction. Some of them, by asserting that the Duke died a natural death, clear the Queen of this imputation altogether, and also all her ministers;† another boldly declares that the Queen first plotted the death of the Duke, and devised the means for its accomplishment.‡ The truth would seem to lie between these two extremes.

The opinion became general that the Queen gave her sanction to the measures of her ministers, who, without it, feared, or pretended to fear, to engage in this plot. Those historians may perhaps be most relied upon who represent this affair as transacted by the Cardinal and his party, *apparently* under the authority of the Queen.§ All writers of the events of this period, however, with one exception, concur in saying that the *share Queen Margaret took* in this guilty transaction is *uncertain;* yet, without any proof of her criminality,—any evidence beyond the suspicions of a discontented and offended nation,—the character of the estimable and high-minded Margaret of Anjou has been aspersed, and, thus sullied and defamed, has been transmitted to succeeding generations.

The surprising courage and bold genius of this

* Hume; Rapin; Henry.

† Wethamstead; Lingard. ‡ Rapin.

§ Hall; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Sharon Turner.

Queen in her subsequent adversities has doubtless led many to conclude that she did not, at this period, hesitate in the adoption of any means her penetration suggested as expedient; but let it be remembered, that "adversity is the school of heroes; it is there that man learns to walk alone, to command himself, and to govern others."

Margaret, with all her talents and political dexterity, was still a young woman at this period; and although she was not marked by the peculiar foibles of her sex, she had led, as history portrays her, too pure and innocent a life to admit without reluctance the open contemplation of crime. Had it been otherwise, she had, long ere the death of Gloucester, suffered the slander passed upon her by the enemies of the House of Lancaster, or had it been in their power to prove her conduct in early life exceptionable. Nor is it probable that, having passed her youth without censure, she should have so suddenly changed—so corrupted by the vile atmosphere of a wicked court—as to have proposed of her own accord the execution of this wilful and horrid crime; human nature shrinks from the suspicion. Again, when we consider the youth and inexperience of the Queen and her prejudice against the Duke of Gloucester, it seems probable that she might have been deceived by the artifices of the Cardinal, and ensnared into concessions, or persuaded to give her sanction to some project of her ministers, without understanding the full extent of their purpose.

Queen Margaret and her counsellors are said to have treated the Duke with marked affability previous to the meeting of Parliament, which had been convened for the month of February, 1447, at Bury St. Edmunds, where it was supposed the Duke of Gloucester had fewer friends than in London, and there-

1447. Holinshed; Henry; Rapin.

fore this place was judged to be more suitable to the sinister views of the ministers.

The precautions taken on this occasion caused much surprise, and gave rise to many conjectures. The knights of the shires were summoned to come there in arms, the men of Suffolk were arrayed, and the King's residence well guarded, while patrols watched the roads leading to this town during the night as well as the day, "so that many died of cold and waking."*

The favour shewn to Gloucester by the Queen and her ministers was not intended to win his confidence, but rather to inspire him with mistrust of their designs, in order to betray him into some step which might afford a handle against him. It was even hinted to him, by secret emissaries, that a plot was laid against him to impeach him of various crimes in the Parliament of Bury St. Edmunds, which place had been chosen as most favourable to the designs of his enemies. Upon this it was expected that the Duke would withdraw himself, and that thus an appearance of truth would be thrown on the charges which the ministers intended to bring forward.†

It was in vain, however, that this noble-minded prince was advertised of the machinations of his enemies. Conscious of his own innocence, and too proud to seek security in flight, which would have afforded a plausible ground for these accusations, his generous mind resolved upon boldly confronting his accusers, and proving the falsehood of their charges.‡ He came from his castle of Devizes to Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, with only a small retinue, and as it was customary for noblemen to appear in the high court of Parliament with a numerous suite out of respect to the King, and Gloucester, not having in his retirement suf-

* Stow; Lingard.

† Hall; Rapin; Barante.

‡ Hall; Rapin; Villaret.

ficient attendants, sent orders to some of his retainers and servants at Deptford to meet him at Bury; when however, a number of these prepared to obey the Duke's orders, they were arrested and charged with a conspiracy.

King Henry having kept his Christmas at Bury St. Edmunds, remained there until Easter, 1447.

1447. Stow; Baker; Speed; Hume; Fox.

Upon the first day of the meeting of Parliament as appointed (the 10th of February), the King presided in person, sitting in a chair of state in the refectory of the monastery. On this day the Duke of Gloucester arrived at Bury and was lodged in the hospital, where soon after he was arrested by Lord Beaumont, the High Constable of England, the Dukes of Buckingham, Somerset, and others, who appointed certain of the King's household to attend upon him, none of his own domestics being permitted to wait upon him.

Thus was the Duke of Gloucester cast into prison upon a charge of high treason, and it was reported, in excuse for his committal, that he had formed a design to kill his sovereign, usurp the throne, and rescue his Duchess, who had been a long time confined in Kenilworth Castle. The people gave no credit to the first of these charges, and great disturbances were made throughout the town on account of the Duke's imprisonment; but the clamours were soon appeased, because it was generally believed that Gloucester was innocent, therefore no one doubted that he would as easily clear himself upon this as he had done on the former occasion.* The Duke was not, however, permitted the opportunity for his defence, being found dead in his bed on the morning after his arrest.†

* Hall; Biondi; Stow; Carte; W. of Worcester; Howel's Med. Hist. Anglicanæ; Rapin; Milles's Catalogue; Sandford; Baker; Dugdale's Baron.; Holinshed; Paston Letters; Fox's Monasteries; Peck's Stamford; Allen's York; Henry; Barante; Villaret; Hume.

† Stow writes that "on the 14th day he died, for sorrow, that he might

The cause publicly assigned for the Duke's death was apoplexy; but his unpopularity at court and with the Queen's party, and the violence which characterized this period, seems to give a degree of probability to that which rests on *tradition only*, viz., that the Duke was murdered in an apartment of St. Saviour's Hospital, then an appendage to the monastery. Nor did the exposure of the Duke's body, on which no marks of violence were perceptible, serve to remove from the public mind the impression, which was general, that the Duke of Gloucester had met with his death by unlawful means. Various conjectures were formed as to the manner in which this horrid deed had been perpetrated, and universal was the detestation with which those persons were regarded who were judged to have been its authors.*

Such was the unfortunate end of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, one of the first princes of the blood, and a great favourite with the people, who, for his love of literature and the rank he held as patron of the genius and talent of his age, was justly styled the "Mæcenas of his times." He was a magnificent patron and benefactor of the University of Oxford (where he had been educated), and founded the Bodleian Library, to which he presented one hundred and twenty-nine fair volumes on the sciences, in the year 1440.

Gloucester was a skilful and upright governor; ever disposed to favour the poor, and, therefore, much beloved by them. He was also "learned and courteous," and if we cannot agree with the old chronicler, who

not come to his answer;" while other authors state that he died on the 14th or 17th day after his arrest, or assert that he was found dead on the 23rd or 28th of February.

* Hall; Baker; Biondi; Holinshed; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Sandford; Milles's Catalogue; Carte; W. of Worcester; Fabian; Paston Letters; Hist. of Bury St. Edmonds; Fox's Monasteries; Howel's Med. Hist. Ang.; Speed; Allen's York.

adds that "he was also devoid of pride and ambition," we must at least allow him many excellent qualities, and confess it might be truly said of him, that he was

"Virtute duce non sanguine nitor."

"Great by deeds of virtue, not of blood."*

On account of his many virtues and the care he took of the commonwealth, Gloucester obtained from the people the title of the "Good Duke," and for his love of justice he was also styled the "Father of his country." He had governed the kingdom during twenty-five years, as we are told, "with great commendations, so that neither good men had cause to complain of, nor bad men to find fault with, his regency." He had been idolized by the nation, and not without reason, for he had long shown a lively interest in the welfare of his country, and had, in support of those points which he deemed essential to its honour, sustained repeated indignities and affronts. He had shown that he inherited the spirit of his family, a spirit which, in his brother Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford, had been generally esteemed and admired; yet he differed from these relatives in the irritability of his temper and his impetuosity, which doubtless caused his frequent quarrels with Beaufort, and gave that prelate a political ascendency over him. It is probable that the Duke of Gloucester owed his fate to his active exertions to reform the Church, and to banish ecclesiastical statesmen from their inordinate share in the government. In these attempts he could not fail to humble his rival and to excite his enmity; add to which, we are told, that he had attempted to deprive Beaufort of the see of Winchester, which must

* Biondi; Paston Letters; Rapin; Hume; Sharon Turner; Leigh's Collections; Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Sandford.

have increased his rage against him. Upon this occasion, as on many others, fresh fuel was added to the flame of discord which burned between these two powerful individuals; and their petty feuds, (otherwise unworthy of the notice of the historian,) become important, as being the fruitful source whence sprang many of the contests and desolating wars of King Henry's reign.

That the young King should have been early prejudiced against his uncle is not surprising, being of so easy a temper that it required little address to win his favour; this Beaufort secured for himself, and employed it against his adversary. The Duke of Gloucester, however, had deserved better at his nephew's hands; for he it was who, with more spirit than prudence, had resented King Henry's exclusion from the Cabinet, when, at the age of seventeen, he had requested admittance there; and Henry's subsequent incapacity is mainly attributable to his arbitrary governors, and his exclusion from, and ignorance of, public affairs.*

The body of the Duke of Gloucester was interred in the Abbey of St. Albans, to which he had been a great benefactor. The Abbot Wethamstead, whom he much esteemed, says repeatedly that the Duke fell ill immediately after his arrest, and died of his illness. Wethamstead commends him in these two lines,— 1447. Rapin.

"Fidior in regno Regi, Duce non fuit isto
"Plus ne fide stabilis, aut major, amator honoris."

"Than Humphrey none of faithfulness had greater store,
"Stood firmer by the King, or loved his honour more."

It was in the Abbey of St. Albans that the Duke detected a man, who pretended to work a miracle in restoring sight to the blind. Gloucester had a strong

* Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Speed; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Lingard.

predilection for the shrine of St. Albans. He had bestowed upon it rich vestments to the value of three thousand marks, and the manor of Pembroke, that the monks should pray for his soul; and he had directed that his remains should be deposited within those holy walls. The tomb of the Duke was adorned by his friend, Wethamstead, and part of the expenses borne by the convent. A monument of stone, of elaborate workmanship, was erected to his memory behind the altar, on the south side of the church, where was the shrine of the patron saint. In a vault beneath, the remains of this prince were deposited, and great care and expense were originally taken for their preservation: they were enclosed in a leaden coffin, in a kind of strong pickle, with an outer coffin of wood. A crucifix was painted on the wall at the east end of the vault, with a cup on each side of the head, another at the side, and a fourth at the feet. These four chalices were receiving the blood, and a hand pointing towards it, with a label inscribed "Lord, have mercy upon me."*

Several knights and esquires in the Duke's service on the day of his arrest assembled at Greenwich, and resolved to proceed to Bury to join him. They were taken prisoners, and accused of conspiring to kill the King, to raise the Duke of Gloucester to the throne, and to release Eleanor, his wife, from her prison. They were tried, and five of them—Sir Roger Chamberlaine, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Arthur Tursey, Esqrs., and Richard Nedham,—were condemned of

* Thus were the remains of the "Good Duke Humphrey" discovered in 1701 (except that the outer case of wood had perished); and since that period they have been frequently exhibited to gratify the public curiosity. The dry bones and soft, fair, silken tresses of hair were of deep interest to all acquainted with his character, and tragic end. The inscription and the title on the cross have been long obliterated.—*Stow; Pol. Vergil; Sandford; Rymer; Rapin; Pennant; Willis's Abbeys; Paston Letters; Weaver's Funereal Monuments; Blore's Monumental Remains; Lingard.*

high treason, and sentence of death passed upon them. Their judges were appointed by virtue of the King's commission, and of these the Marquis of Suffolk was the chief.* The King granted a pardon to these unfortunate men. His humanity would not allow them to suffer. This clemency on the part of King Henry, we are told, was caused by his attention to a sermon, which had much affected him, delivered by Dr. Worthington, a celebrated preacher, on the forgiveness of injuries; and his Majesty declared "that he could not better show his gratitude for the protection of the Almighty than by granting a pardon to those who, he believed, had intended his destruction." These persons, were thirty-two in number when apprehended; the five on whom sentence of death had been passed were drawn to Tyburn for execution. There the hangman had actually performed his office—the vital spark was almost extinguished—when the Marquis of Suffolk produced the tardy pardon upon which these miserable beings had relied, for it was suspected that they had been bribed to an acknowledgment of guilt upon a promise of certain pardon.

This pardon was by some persons conjectured to be only an artifice by which Suffolk sought to lessen the odium which might attach to himself after the death of Gloucester.

No investigation took place as to the cause of the sudden death of this Duke. It was asserted that he died a natural death, brought on by apoplexy, or the effect of anxiety of mind.† This opinion was held by three contemporary writers, who were all his friends and eulogists—Hardyng, the Yorkist; William of Worcester, who in recording the meeting of Parlia-

* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Howel; Stow; Rapin; Henry; Hist. of Bury St. Edmonds; Lingard; Smollet.

† Pol. Vergil; Speed; Carte; Villaret; Hume.

ment at Bury says only, "there died Humphrey, the Good Duke of Gloucester, the lover of virtue and the State;" lastly, Wethamstead, his intimate friend, tells us that, "after being placed in strict confinement, he sank from sorrow."

The seeds of discontent had been long sown in this country, and the division of the chief rulers into two parties had much increased this growing evil, while the Queen preserved a select favoured party around her court. Many, very many, had rallied round this idolized and deservedly esteemed prince; and the sudden bereavement of their favourite called forth their utmost indignation. They could not penetrate the apparent mystery, the cause of his death, and regarded it as a crime, a murder, and sought to attach it to his different enemies; and, casting off their respect for the rank of their Queen, they even dared openly to charge her with this outrage.*

The death of Gloucester, from whatever cause, did not remove from him the imputation of treason; it was still pretended that he was guilty of the charges laid against him, and for which some of his servants had been led to execution. These persons had never been confronted with him, neither were they of the chief of the Duke's household; nor were they such persons as he would probably have chosen to intrust with a secret so important, had he really entertained any treasonable projects.

Those individuals who were universally considered as the authors of Gloucester's death, were of too high a rank in the kingdom for anyone to have courage enough to accuse them, much more to inflict the punishment which, it was believed, they had so justly deserved.† When, however, hatred and malice had

* Holinshed; Rapin

† Biondi; Hume; Rapin; Henry.

effected their direful purpose, when no human authority could call the culprits to the bar of justice, the unerring will of the Almighty, whose omnipresent eye had regarded this secret deed, so disposed the chain of succeeding events, that this cruel murder became the source of continued trials and misfortunes throughout the lives of its authors.

In whatever manner effected, Gloucester's death certainly was, as an old historian expresses it, "like the stroke of an evil angel sent to punish England, and to make way for the practices of Richard, Duke of York, who, immediately after the death of Duke Humphrey, (that grand prop of the red rose-tree,) began to set on foot his royal title."*

The Duke of Gloucester most probably came by his death through the inveterate malice of his enemies, who had preconcerted the destruction of his power. These were the chief ministers of the Queen, the Cardinal of Winchester, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquis of Suffolk. These four individuals consequently became the particular objects of popular hatred, and the impression made by this affair was never afterwards removed from the public mind.†

The attempts of these ministers to deceive the nation were fruitless and unworthy artifices. The arrest of the Duke's servants was a base subterfuge, which did not answer their purpose, (viz., to screen themselves from popular resentment); but it produced a contrary effect, in convincing the people by the favour shown to these unhappy men, that they were, as well as the Duke, altogether innocent of the charges laid against them.‡

* Sandford; Holinshed; Hall; Smollet; Peck's Stamford.
† Speed; Allen's York.
‡ Villaret.

How far Queen Margaret of Anjou was really implicated in this affair is left to conjecture.* No existing proof remains of her guilt, while, on the contrary, many things may be adduced which must lead the unprejudiced mind to the conviction of her innocence. Some, seeking to prove her guilty, allege the indecent haste with which the large estates of Gloucester were seized upon by the Queen and Suffolk, and conferred upon some of their favourites, which, they say, rendered them very unpopular, and served to confirm the suspicions against them; while contributing not a little to render them odious to the nation.†

Eleanor, the wife of Duke Humphrey, on account of the sentence passed upon her for her misconduct, had been by Parliament rendered incapable of claiming as his widow, and a great part of the Duke's estates were bestowed on the Marquis of Suffolk, his relatives and followers.

Gloucester had been created Earl of Pembroke by King Henry V. in 1414. The reversion of this earldom, should the Duke die without heirs, had been granted by Henry VI. to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife, and their heirs; which, at the death of the Duke, they enjoyed accordingly.‡ The manor of Greenwich had been granted to Gloucester by King Henry VI. in 1443, with the royal license to fortify and embattle his manor-house, and to make a park of two hundred acres. Gloucester rebuilt the palace, and called it "Placentia," or "the manor of pleasaunce."§ On the death of the Duke this manor reverted to the crown. Baynard Castle

* Hume.

† Henry; Rapin.

‡ Rot. Parl.; Carte; Sandford; Lingard.

§ This name it lost in the time of Edward IV. The Duke of Gloucester also enclosed the park, and built a tower on the spot where the Observatory now stands.

(which had been burnt in 1428) was rebuilt by the Duke of Gloucester, after whose death and attainder it came into the hands of the King, by whom it was bestowed on Richard, Duke of York. On the possessions of Gloucester, we are further informed that the Marquis of Suffolk had prevailed upon King Henry, while the Duke was yet living, in 1446, to create John de Fois, son of Gaston de Fois, Earl of Longuile, Earl of Kendal. He had 1,000*l.* bestowed upon him, to maintain his dignity, and also the possessions in Guienne, which had belonged to the Duke of Gloucester, and which he had been compelled to resign. John de Fois had married the niece of Suffolk. The castle of Devizes, and other lands in England belonging to Duke Humphrey, we are informed, were assigned to "Margaret of Anjou;" and this partition of the Duke's property served to increase the general suspicion of his having been murdered. *

It appears probable that King Henry was quite in ignorance of this plot against his uncle, until informed of its fatal issue. The people never suspected that he had any share in it; but, if indeed the Duke was murdered, nothing would seem to excuse the pusillanimity of Henry in passing it over in silence. The only excuse to be found for him would be his incapacity to interfere in public affairs, which deprived him of courage to punish the offenders, if he even suspected who were the culprits. This monarch passed his whole time in his devotions; the Queen so contrived it, some writers tell us. It is evident, however, that Henry willingly resigned the reins of government to his consort, doubtless feeling happy to be released from a task for which nature had unfitted him. He readily signed, without examination, all the orders which were brought to him, and thus he lent his name to whatever measures the

* Carte.

Queen might think proper to adopt.* In support of the opinion that King Henry was ignorant of his uncle having been murdered, it has been said that the King, alluding to the pardon he had granted to the servants of the Duke, asserted that it had not been suggested to him either by layman or clergyman, but that it arose from "religious considerations, and chiefly because God seemed to have taken the cause into his own hands, having, during the late year, touched, and stricken, certain of those who had been disloyal to him."

The question naturally arises, who were these persons whom God had stricken? Gloucester doubtless was one of them, and this expression, says Lingard, "is a proof that he died a natural death; for this religious prince would never have used it, if the Duke had been murdered."† There is, however, great reason to believe that this noble prince was murdered, and one motive assigned for the cruel deed was that the ministers supposed the Duke would prevent the surrender of Maine and Anjou, according to the marriage contract.

Their chief object was, undoubtedly, to establish their own authority at court; but, by this act, they not only failed in doing so, but drew on themselves, as well as on their Queen, the indignation of the country; and from this period England became the scene of violence and civil warfare.‡

1447. Stow; Hume; Lingard.

Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, well known as the "rich Cardinal," died, at the age of eighty, on the 11th of April, 1447; having survived but six weeks his political antagonist, the Duke of Gloucester.

He was buried in the cathedral at Winchester. The

* Villaret; Rapin; Smollet.
† Rymer; Lingard.
‡ Holinshed; Pennant; Villaret; Lingard; Smollet.

legacies of Beaufort, which were mostly for charitable purposes, were magnificent; and in proof of his esteem for Queen Margaret (who was indeed a great favourite with him, and often visited at his house) he bequeathed to her the bed of cloth of Damascus, and the arras belonging to the chamber in which she had slept at Waltham.

In his last moments, the Cardinal appears to have shown some compunction for his conduct in the affair of Gloucester's death; "more," it is said, "than could have been expected from a man hardened during the course of a long life in falsehood and in politics." * The conclusion of a life so spent was, as might be anticipated, a scene of misery and discontent; and Beaufort, whose love of wealth continued his prevailing passion, even on his death-bed, is pictured as complaining with bitterness that his immense riches were not able to prolong, even for a day, that life to which he so fondly clung. "Why should I die," saith he, "having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able either by policy to get it, or by money to buy it; fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing?" †

Cardinal Beaufort was more exalted in his birth than distinguished for learning; he was proud, wealthy, and "loved money more than friendship." He was enterprising, but not persevering, except in his enmities, and in the evil purposes of his heart. His covetousness made him forget the shortness of human life, and his duties as a Christian and a subject. ‡

The Jewish historian assures us that Moses required

* Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Speed; Hume; Green's Worcester.

† Hall; Biondi; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Henry; Villaret; Barante.

‡ Hall; Holinshed; Rapin.

in the priesthood a "double degree of purity," and this, in comparison with what was expected of the laity; and we find this also established amongst the early Christians. How were these commands regarded by our mercenary prelate? whose life was as that of those ambitious and turbulent teachers, who are so swallowed up in political dreams, as to forget that "Christ's kingdom is not of this world." *

It was the Cardinal of Winchester, who, in conjunction with others, passed sentence of death upon Joan of Arc, and ordered the ashes of the unfortunate girl to be thrown into the Seine.† Beaufort was called the "cruel and implacable Cardinal;" and, indeed, his ambitious and sordid disposition too often dictated actions which justified these epithets. How unfitted was such a character for the guidance of a young and inexperienced queen!

Formed to shine at court, and to act a conspicuous part in the political world rather than in the Church, Beaufort's chief employment, from the time of his being created a bishop, was to heap up riches. In this he was so successful, that he was considered the most wealthy of the English nobility. Having great skill and discernment in the means suggested by human prudence to the ambitious, he readily attained the summit of his wishes. Finally, his birth, talents, riches, and the office of governor to the King, gave him great influence both in the Cabinet and in the kingdom.‡

The first occasion of Beaufort's quarrel with the Duke of Gloucester is not fully known, some being of opinion that the Bishop was angry at Gloucester's preferment in the government, which would have pleased him better than the tutorship of the young King;

* Josephus; Milner.

† Barante; Hume. ‡ Rapin.

others asserting that the Duke had conceived a hatred against his uncle, because he was ever ready to oppose his assuming too great an authority as Protector. Whatever might have been the true cause of their enmity, it ended only with their lives. The Cardinal never left off plotting how to supplant his nephew, until, as the sequel showed, he was at last but too successful.

The coadjutors of the Cardinal during his administration had been the Archbishop of York, Adam Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester and Keeper of the Privy Seal; William de la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk; Lord Say, and the Bishop of Salisbury. These ministers maintained their influence in the Council, under the direction of Queen Margaret, who now appeared to govern with arbitrary sway.

This arrangement, however, was displeasing to the nation, who, unaccustomed to the government of a woman, raised complaints against the Queen, being disgusted by her haughty demeanour and partiality in conferring favours; but doubtless the supposition that she had participated in the guilt of Gloucester's murder had no small share in causing these murmurs, coupled with personal disrespect. Irritated by the loss of their favourite, the people did not even care to maintain the honour of their Queen, when speaking of her *liaisons* with the Marquis of Suffolk. This minister they regarded with the utmost detestation; and as he became, on the death of the Cardinal, the first in the kingdom, and monopolized the Queen's favour, reports were circulated very unfavourable to the dignity of the Queen. Like other favourites, he became the object of jealousy and envy to those who were ambitious of distinction at court, and his great authority was another cause for complaint. It was said that he governed the King at his pleasure, and that too many favours were

conferred upon him. Amongst these were the wardship of the person and lands of the Countess of Warwick, and of the Lady Margaret, sole heiress of John, Duke of Somerset, which gave rise to fresh jealousy.*

The pretext for assembling the Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, at the time of the Duke of Gloucester's arrest, was to propose an interview between the Kings of England and France, with a view to the establishment of a general peace. At that meeting nothing was concluded but the prolongation of the truce until
1447. November of the same year, 1447. Again the truce was prolonged until the following April; and, after many difficulties arising to prevent the meeting of the two kings, as proposed, the former truce was once more prolonged until April, and again until June, 1449, still in the hope of concluding a general peace.†

The repeated delays in establishing this peace called forth the complaints of the people, who, grown impatient at the fruitless negotiations, evinced, by their murmurs, their hatred of the Marquis of Suffolk, whom they looked upon as the author of their grievances. They loudly complained that he had betrayed the interests of his sovereign, and of the state; for the treaty into which he had entered with the French, as well as his promise of the surrender of Maine and Anjou, were alike injurious in their results. The former leading to a truce of which they anticipated the evil effects, since it afforded their enemies time to recover themselves, and to arm themselves afresh for the renewal of the war; the latter seemed to them only as a voluntary sacrifice to obtain the hand of a princess, whose conduct had already alarmed their minds as to the future

* Speed; Villaret; Barante; Holinshed; Carte; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Rymer; Lingard; Smollet.

† Sandford; Rapin; Allen's York; Monstrelet.

calamities they might expect under her arbitrary government.

The Marquis of Suffolk, no longer able to avoid the public censures, thought it expedient to endeavour to silence them, and to establish his innocence, by requesting the King to hear his defence. In answer to this appeal, King Henry graciously appointed a day upon which he might appear before him, and clear himself of these charges. In the King's chamber the Marquis accordingly, on the day appointed, arose, and in the presence of his sovereign, and of several lords assembled, who were all favourable to him, explained his conduct in France, and justified himself in the measures he had adopted, showing that he had been previously provided with the commands of the King on these matters.

King Henry assured the Marquis that he was satisfied of his innocence, and gave him letters patent under the great seal, by which he acquitted him of any misdemeanors, and forbade anyone, under pain of his displeasure, to accuse him.* But the nation, whose public rights and feelings had been outraged, could not be so easily appeased.

It was generally expected that the King would be satisfied with the defence of the Marquis, but the people, still enraged against the court favourite, and unmoved by his justification, looked upon him with horror as one of the murderers of Gloucester. Besides this, they did not forget that the marriage of the King was effected by his means, and this also was regarded as a national calamity. Public feeling prevailed over the commands of their sovereign, whose exertions were annulled through the universal hatred felt against the Marquis. Discontent was general, except in the court itself. There were those, however, who favoured the ministers in various parts of the country, who, holding

* Hall; Stow; Speed; Carte; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Allen's York.

lucrative offices under government, were interested in siding with the court. These parties used their authority to silence the complaints of the disaffected; for the people began to regard Queen Margaret as a foreigner, whose father and relatives had united with the French against them, and they showed some disposition to treat their Queen as a latent enemy of their country.*

In the midst of all this dissatisfaction great respect was paid to the King. His innocent life and amiable character endeared him to his subjects so much, that numbers took part with the court as a principle of duty; and thus the authority of the Queen, and of Suffolk, could not easily be set aside.†

1448. In this year, 1448, Henry VI., who has been styled by one of our chroniclers "the most illustrious, the most benign, the most valuable, and most amiable king," visited the tomb of St. Cuthbert, in Durham. This pilgrimage he undertook on the 6th of October. He resided in the castle of the Bishop of Durham, and remained there until the end of the month. On Sunday, the Feast of St. Michael, this monarch was present, at the first vespers, in the procession, and at mass in the second vespers. Afterwards he expressed his satisfaction in the following letter, addressed to John Somerset:—

"RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,—We greet you "heartily well, letting you witt that, blessed be the "Lord God, we have been right merry in our pil- "grimage, considering three causes: one is, how that "the church of the province of York and diocese of "Durham be as noble in doing of divine service, in "multitude of ministers, as in sumptuous and glorious "building, as any in our realm. And also, how our "Lord has radicate in the people his faith and his law,

* Sandford; Hume. † Rapin.

"and that they be as catholic people as ever we came "among, and all good and holy, that we dare say the "First Commandment may be verified right well in "them, '*Diligunt Dominum Deum ipsorum in tolis "animis suis et tota menta sua*' ('They love the Lord "their God with all their soul and with all their "mind'). Also, they have done unto us all great "hearty reverence and worship as ever we had, with "all great humanity and meekness, with all celestial, "blessed, and honourable speech and blessing as it "can be thought and imagined, and all good and better "than we had ever in our life, even as they had been "*celitus inspirati* (heavenly inspired). Wherefore, we "dare well say, it may be verified in them the holy "saying of the prince of the apostles, St. Peter, '*Qui "timebat Dominum et Regem honorificant cum debita "reverentia*' ('Who fear the Lord, and honour the "King with all due reverence'). Wherefore, the bless-"ing that God gave to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob "descend upon them all," &c.

"Wryten in our city of Lincolne, on the day after "St. Luke the Evangelist, 1448."*

The same year that King Henry visited Durham he also honoured the city of Norwich with his presence. He obtained a loan of 500 marks from this city (a sum which was afterwards repaid), and in the following year this monarch revisited Norwich, and was entertained at the expense of the bishop, the prior, the mayor, and commons.† 1448.

The Queen accompanied King Henry in all his progresses, and, by her affability and grace, found much favour with the citizens, as well at Norwich as elsewhere. We find, however, but little notice of her movements during the period immediately preceding

* Antiq. of Durham; Hutchinson's Durham.

† Parkin's Norwich.

the impeachment of Suffolk, with one exception, which brings her before us as the enlightened patroness of literature.

King Henry VI., previous to his marriage with Margaret of Anjou, has been described as "advancing in virtue as he increased in age." He gave himself up to religious duties, and the worship of God and the blessed Virgin Mary. He took no share in the political affairs of his kingdom, committing them to his Council, neither would he participate in any worldly pleasures. He took a lively interest in the advancement of religion and the promotion of learning. In the year 1440 he had laid the foundation of Eton School, near Windsor, intending it as a nursery for his college in Cambridge, which he founded soon after. Eton College had a provost, ten priests, four clerks, six choristers, twenty-five poor grammar scholars, and twenty-five poor men.*

A little later in the year 1443, King Henry had founded a college at Cambridge to Our Lady and St. Nicholas, which was called the College Royal, or King's College. Truly royal and magnificent was the original plan of this foundation, if we may judge of it by the chapel, which has called forth universal admiration as one of the finest specimens of architecture in the world. The misfortunes, however, of the founder, unhappily prevented the completion of that plan. At its commencement, the King ordered that the ancient castle of Cambridge should be pulled down to supply materials for this great work. King Henry also translated to this place a certain hostle near Clare Hall, called the "House of God," (which had been erected by William Bingham, rector of St. John Zacchary, in London, in the year 1442, for grammarians), placing therein a pro-

* The supporters to the arms of King Henry on Eton College gate were two antelopes.

vost, four fellows, and scholars. This building having been taken into the bounds of King's College, the King would have increased the number of scholars to sixty, had not the subsequent fatal wars obstructed his pious design. To the maintenance of this college and that of Eton King Henry gave annually £3,400. He also bestowed 120 volumes on the library at Cambridge. Henry, Duke of Warwick, (who had continued until his death the especial favourite of Henry VI.), was enrolled as one of the benefactors of this college.*

The same care and beneficence were bestowed by the King on certain colleges at Oxford. The New College there, within the walls, received from this monarch certain possessions, and likewise the College of Oriel. Henry VI. was also a magnificent benefactor to Pembroke Hall, which was called the "*King's Adopted Daughter*," and King's College, Cambridge, his "*True and First-begotten Daughter.*" This magnificent plan † of King Henry called forth the poetic effusions of Walpole, who thus exclaims :—

"When Henry bade the pompous temple rise,
"Nor with presumption emulate the skies,
"Art and Paladio had not reach'd the land
"Nor methodiz'd the Vandal builder's hands :
"Wonders unknown to rule these piles disclose,
"The walls, as if by inspiration rose;
"The edifice, continued by his care,
"With equal pride had form'd the sumptuous square,
"Had not th' assassin disappointed part,
"And stabb'd the growing fabric in his heart."‡

* Howel ; John Rous of Warwick ; Carter's Cambridge ; Toplis ; Baker ; Rapin ; Parker's Cambridge ; Henry ; Magna Britannica ; Gough's Sepul. Monuments.

† The intentions of King Henry were long afterwards effected by his pious relative Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII., who obtained from her son a licence, and plentifully endowed the college, out of her own lands and possessions, that the revenues afforded maintenance for a master, 12 fellows, and 47 scholars. The original plan is still to be seen in the library of the college.

‡ Walpole's Fugitive Pieces.

We are informed that Queen Margaret, observing the singular piety of her husband which led him to become founder of King's College, Cambridge, resolved on the establishing of another college close to it, and which obtained from its foundress the name of Queen's College. This building was erected on the borders of the monastery of the Carmelites. The chapel was dedicated to St. Margaret and St. Bernard, and Sir John Wenlock, Knight, laid the first stone, in the name of the foundress, on the 15th of April, 1448. On the corner stone was engraved, at the express desire of Queen Margaret, "*Erit Dominæ nostræ Reginæ Margaretæ Dominus in refugium, et lapis iste in signum*" ("The Lord will be a refuge to our Lady Queen Margaret, and this stone shall be the sign, or monument thereof"). The college was richly endowed by the Queen bestowing on it to the value of £200 a year, to maintain a master and four fellows. King Henry also conferred additional gifts upon it. This edifice was involved in the calamities incidental to the reign of this Queen, and which, even while it was in its infancy, caused it to be near perishing. It was, however, preserved by the care and diligence of Andrew Ducket, who had been appointed its first president by the foundress; and during forty years, while he continued in that office, he procured for it many benefactors through his solicitations, so that he might even be esteemed its preserver or second founder.*

1448. Henry; Carter's Cambridge.

* When the civil wars compelled Queen Margaret, at the head of the Lancastrian party, to defend her husband's rights, this noble work of the college was suspended, until King Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, animated, it would seem, by the good example of her predecessor, sought to emulate her fame in the completion of this noble building. This was happily accomplished in 1465, and many privileges granted it by King Edward. It was, however, chiefly owing to the active zeal of the president, Andrew Ducket, that the queen of Edward IV. took such interest in this undertaking; and it was through his persuasions, also, that the Countess of Richmond became so noble a patroness to King's College. He was appointed by this lady to the mastership, in which he continued thirty-six years, and prevailed on the

In the chapel of Queen's College was a curious altar-piece, on three panels, representing "Judas betraying Christ," "The Resurrection," and "Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection." These fine paintings, supposed to have been presented by the foundress, Margaret of Anjou, were afterwards removed to the president's lodge.*

The distracted state of the public affairs, and the discontents of the people, first inspired Richard, Duke of York and Lord of Stamford, with the hope of one day being able to establish his right to the crown. He had of late risen in power and popularity, and was a prince of great valour and abilities; he was also prudent in his conduct, and mild in his disposition. He was the only heir to the House of Mortimer, or March, and was descended, on his mother's side, from Lionel, the second son of Edward III., and elder brother of John of Ghent, whose descendant was Henry VI., the monarch at this period occupying the throne.†

When the truce with France had been prolonged, in 1445, the Duke of York had returned to England, after his regency there, and had been graciously received at court, and many acknowledgments made to him for his services. The King, to show in an especial manner his gratitude, appointed him again Regent of France for

most generous of the nobility to furnish large sums of money; and amongst these we find the Duke of Clarence, Cicely Duchess of York, Marmaduke Lumley, and others, who became great benefactors to this college. Andrew Ducket, a worthy and discreet man, died on the 6th of November, 1484.—*Sandford; Toplis; Henry; Rapin; Leland; Baker; Carter's Cambridge; Lysson's Cambridge; Parker's Cambridge.*

* This college, with the general title of "Queen's College," bears her hereditary arms. In the president's lodge is still to be seen a portrait of Queen Margaret of Anjou, and near to it that of her successor on the throne, Elizabeth Woodville. At the invitation of Bishop Fisher, Erasmus visited Cambridge many years later, and took up his residence in a tower of this college.

† Sandford; Baker; Hume; Rapin; Biondi.

the ensuing five years. Before this period had expired, however, the Duke became an object of serious mistrust to the Queen and her ministers, who, had they preserved the good opinion of the nation, or had the "Good Duke of Gloucester" been alive to maintain his rights, would not have had reason to fear these projects, as, in either case, it is highly improbable that the Duke of York would have ever asserted his claim.*

The Duke did not at first openly assert his pretensions; it would have been dangerous to him to do so, while he was as yet ignorant of the dispositions of the people. He therefore proceeded with such caution that his intentions could not be discovered. He contented himself with making his right known to the people by secret agents. It was circulated that the House of Lancaster had usurped the throne, and that, although the usurpation had been tolerated whilst its kings were men of ability and virtue, and governed to the satisfaction of the nation; yet, having now no longer that expectation in their present king, they were unwilling to maintain it for the sake of a queen, a foreigner, and one whose arbitrary government was so much to their disadvantage. That the House of March had been unjustly deprived of the succession, and that the Duke of York, as sole heir of that distinguished house, ought to be acknowledged king, and advanced to a dignity to which his virtues, talents, and the services he had rendered his country, justly entitled him. By these secret intimations, the Duke soon obtained a party amongst the people; but he did not himself appear, his friends only exerted their influence in his favour.

In support of the present administration there were still many persons of great power and influence in the

* Holinshed; Speed; Henry.

kingdom; of these were the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Somerset and his brother, the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Stafford, Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and others.*

The late reports had not passed unheeded by the Queen and her Council; and they were not slow in attributing them to their true author, who, if concealed from others, could not easily deceive such quick-sighted persons as those who were themselves so interested in making this discovery. These parties came at once to the resolution, if possible, to lessen the credit of the Duke of York. They were more desirous of doing this, as they suspected the Duke would, as Regent of France, obstruct the surrender of Maine and Anjou, promised to Charles of Anjou at the treaty of 1444.†

The desired opportunity soon presented itself.

The Duke of Somerset, whose family interests were ever opposed to those of York, had endeavoured to hinder the dispatch of this Duke on his first appointment to the Regency of France. He became again so envious of the distinction of his rival, that he prevailed on the King to repeal the grant he had made to the Duke of York; and, assisted by the Marquis of Suffolk, he obtained the same grant for himself.

This treatment was highly resented by the Duke of York, and gradually the mutual enmity of these two nobles led to their ruin, and also that of many others who became involved with them.

The Duke of Somerset, who had upon his brother's death succeeded to the family title, was dismissed to France to take upon him the office of Regent in the place of York, who was thus removed previous to the expiration of the period for which it had been be-

* Baker; Holinshed; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Villaret.
† Rapin.

stowed upon him.* York resolved to be revenged, but for a time dissembled his resentment. The haughty disposition of Somerset gave him great offence also, and he became his determined enemy.

We shall soon have occasion to observe how private pique, and the irritating sense of injustice, contributed to increase the general dissatisfaction of the nation. Discontent is a growing evil, which oft takes its rise from some trivial cause; it needs the skilful hand of a physician to eradicate its earliest symptoms, or it will not fail to grow into an incurable disease.

Queen Margaret knew not how to stem the torrent of dissatisfaction to which her conduct had given rise. She seemed, at this time, as if she braved the people by lavishing favours on the object of their aversion. She caused the King, who submitted entirely to her guidance, to create the Marquis of Suffolk a duke, and by this a new pretext was afforded to the enemies of Queen Margaret to stir up the people against her.

1448. Speed; Rapin; Paston Letters.

The King's weakness becoming daily more apparent, the nation seemed at this period to be wholly ruled by the Queen and Suffolk. The great power of this minister is thus set forth by a writer of that day, who tells us, "There shall be no man so hardy to do, neither say, against my lord of Suffolk, nor none that longeth to him, and all that have done and said against him, they shall soon repent them."†

It is doubtless an error in the ruler of a state to listen only to the nobility, or to those courtiers who immediately surround the throne. The voice of the people should never be totally disregarded; and there are, at times, concessions necessary to be made, even to the meanest subjects in the realm.

* Sandford; Holinshed; Baker; Stow; Carte; Speed; Rapin; Lingard; Barante; Villaret; Leland's Ireland.

† Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Stow; Speed; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Paston Letters; Villaret; Allen's York.

The honour lately conferred upon Suffolk was probably not intended to offend the people, but solely as a compensation to the Duke for the complaints to which he had been subjected; and possibly given to add weight to the King's declaration, and apparent conviction, of the Duke's innocence. Surely it could not have been expected that the Queen would pass censure on the conduct of Suffolk in the affair of her marriage, or be offended with a treaty by which she became Queen of England! This treaty, too, having been signed, and the conditions agreed to, would it be honourable not to fulfil them? Doubtless the Queen and her minister reasoned thus; and we have seen that they were influenced by it to remove the Duke of York from his Regency, that he might not obstruct the surrender of Maine and Anjou.

For this surrender, which appeared to them as an act of justice, they were severely blamed; and the more so, because these territories, being given up to Charles of Anjou, the uncle of Queen Margaret, it seemed to be done to favour the interests of her family.

CHAPTER VI.

(*Lord Say.*) "Tell me wherein I have offended most?
"Have I affected wealth or honour, speak?
"Are my chests fill'd with extorted gold?
"Is my apparel sumptuous to behold?
"Whom have I injur'd, that ye seek my death."—SHAKESPEARE.

(*Duke of York.*) "T'was men I lack'd and you will give them me,
"I take it kindly; yet be well assured,
"You put sharp weapons in a madman's hands,
"Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,
"'Twill stir up in England some black storm
"Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell,
"And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage
"Until the golden circuit on my head,
"Like to the glorious sun's transparent beams,
"Do calm the fury of this mad-bred flaw."—SHAKESPEARE.

The surrender of Maine and Anjou—Losses in France—Complaints of the English—The arrest of York prevented—An affray at Coventry—Rebellion in Ireland—York is dismissed thither—Parliament meets—Suffolk accused of treason—His defence—He is sent to the Tower, and then banished the kingdom—His departure—His death—His character and enemies—The merits of the Duke of York—Reinforcements are sent to Somerset—Loss of Caen—The conduct of Sir David Hall—Somerset returns to England—Cade's rebellion and death.

IT had been stipulated at the treaty of Tours, that the counties of Maine and Anjou should be surrendered to the French; but Le Mans was still garrisoned by the English, who, unwilling to quit so important a city, had repeatedly delayed the restitution; at first, on account of the opposition made to this measure by the Duke of Gloucester, and afterwards, by the Duke of York.*

King Charles demanded the full restitution which

* Rapin; Barante; Daniel; Villaret.

had been promised him; and, at length, grown impatient of the delay, he dismissed Count Dunois with a powerful army, to lay siege to Le Mans. Upon this, King Henry commanded that the city should be given up; but, at the same time, he declared that it was but during the time of the truce, and that he reserved to himself the right of sovereignty.* The surrender was accordingly made in the year 1448. 1448. Barante; Rapin; Hume

The feebleness of the English ministry at this period, while it served to encourage the discontents of the people, inspired their enemies, the French, with hopes of recovering their kingdom. Although they had again prolonged the truce, it was but to prepare for a renewal of war on the part of France. An unexpected circumstance, however, put an end to the truce sooner than was anticipated by any of the parties. The town of Fougiers, in Brittany, was suddenly seized upon by an Arragonese, named Surienne, who had been many years in the service of the English, and who had been governor of Le Mans at the time of its surrender to King Charles. He had, at first, refused compliance with the orders for this surrender, either doubting their authority, or anxious to retain his government as his only fortune; but, upon being compelled to yield it to the French, under Count Dunois, he withdrew with his troops, amounting to 2,500 men,† into Normandy, expecting to be quartered in some other town by the Duke of Somerset, who was Governor of Normandy. In this he failed, for Somerset refused to receive him, not being able to provide for his numerous followers, and displeased at his late disobedience.

Surienne, upon this, committed many ravages in Brittany, took the town of Fougiers, and supported his troops by his depredations.

* Holinshed; Barante; Hume; Carte; Villaret; Rapin; Monstrelet.

† Monstrelet says Surienne had only 700 men.

The Duke of Brittany laid his complaints before King Charles, and this monarch required from Somerset compensation for these injuries. It was in vain that the latter represented that these depredations were committed without his privity, and that he had no power to restrain these adventurers; equally vain was his promise of affording satisfaction to the Duke of Brittany. The King of France rendered an accommodation impossible. He insisted on the recall of the plunderers, and that reparation should be made for the damages, which he caused to be estimated at the exorbitant sum of 1,600,000 crowns. This monarch had been occupied during the truce in establishing discipline in his army, in suppressing faction, repairing his finances, and promoting order and justice in his kingdom. Thinking this a fit opportunity for the renewal of the war, and conscious of his own superiority over the English, he dismissed two ambassadors to England to demand satisfaction for the insult offered to the Duke of Brittany; and should he even obtain this reparation, the King was prepared with another pretext to occasion a rupture with England. His ally, the King of Scots, had been engaged in a conflict with the English, who were charged by King Charles with having broken the truce with that monarch; but King James had not sought an advocate in his quarrel, and it was only because the French King had resolved on war that he made use of these pretexts.*

In England nothing but discord prevailed; the court was divided into factions, ever contending against each other, and exhibiting their mutual animosity; the people, displeased with their government, were full of complaints. In the midst of these dissensions the conquests in France were no longer attended to.

* Holinshed; Hall; Barante; Baker; Monfaucon; Hume; Pol. Vergil; Speed; Villaret; Ridpath.

The Queen and her counsellors did not even seem to think of preserving the acquisitions of Henry V.

The truces with France and Scotland had both been broken through, and there was much pillaging on the coasts, which were greatly exposed to such attempts. All these circumstances led to such great disorders, that men began to apprehend a rebellion. In the Paston Letters we find this, and similar expressions, "God save the King, and send us peace," which seem to imply a fear for the King's safety at this time, and alarm lest the discord so prevalent throughout the country should lead to civil war.*

The condition of England at this period, (when the Queen, and her chief minister, Suffolk, directed all public affairs, and when the discontents of the Yorkists were becoming more manifest,) render it highly probable that the hostilities on the northern borders originated, rather with the ambition and animosity of the chieftains of the Marches than from any public commands. The Scotch writers affirm that the English first violated the truce. The Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, who were the Wardens of the East and West Marches, invaded Scotland, at the head of two different armies, and destroyed the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. 1448.

A speedy revenge was taken by James Douglas, Lord of Balveny, (a brother of the Earl of Douglas,) by spoiling and laying waste the county of Cumberland, and burning the town of Alnwick. The English retaliated, and a considerable army marched against the Scotch, led over the Western March by the Earl of Northumberland, who encountered, near the River Sark in Annandale, the Scotch army, commanded by Hugh, Earl of Ormond, another brother of Earl Douglas. A bloody battle ensued, in which the Scots were

* Holinshed; Hall; Rapin; Villaret; Milles's Catalogue; Paston Letters.

triumphant, and 3,000 English were killed, or, in their flight, were drowned in the Frith of Solway. Many were likewise taken prisoners, and amongst them Lord Percy, while bravely endeavouring to rescue his father from a similar fate. The Scots lost 600 men, and their chief, Sir Thomas Wallace, of Craigie, to whose prowess they were much indebted for their success. A short truce, the next year, was entered into, which ended these hostilities.* The King of Scots at this time celebrated his marriage with Mary of Gueldres.

1449. Monstrelet; Pinkerton.

In France, the Duke of Somerset was so ill-supplied with money, that he was obliged to disband great part of his army, and was unable to keep his towns and castles in repair; his exactions, too, in Normandy, rendered him hateful to the people of that province. In this unhappy position of affairs, he was at once attacked by four different armies, well disciplined and commanded; one of them by the King of France, another by the Duke of Brittany, and the other two by the Duke of Alençon, and Count Dunois. These forces no sooner appeared before the different cities than their inhabitants submitted. The French thus obtained possession of Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Galliard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Mantes, Vernon, Argentin, Liseaux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesme, and Pont de l'Arche. So far from being able to lead his army into the field to oppose the enemy, the Duke of Somerset had not even the means of garrisoning the towns, or of furnishing them with provisions. He, therefore, had the mortification of beholding all the chief cities of this province fall successively into the hands of the French, while he retired with a few troops to Rouen, to endeavour to preserve this city from the general fate, and to await the arrival of succours from England;

1449. Speed; Hume.

* Ridpath; Paston Letters; Holinshed; Pinkerton; Monstrelet.

but even in Rouen the English could not long hope to maintain their ground, and they were soon besieged there. The Counts Dunois and St. Pol first encamped before the city, and as their heralds were not permitted to enter, they failed in their object of getting the people to declare for them. There were, however, numbers of the inhabitants already disposed to mutiny.*

The first assault failed; and King Charles, (who, accompanied by René of Anjou, arrived at this time at the camp,) thought it prudent to withdraw to Pont de l'Arche. Meanwhile Somerset, who, from the distracted state of affairs in England, could have but little hope of receiving succours, thought proper to treat with King Charles. Having obtained a safe conduct from the French King, the Archbishop and the chief citizens of Rouen, accompanied by several of the English generals deputed by Somerset, met, and conferred with Count Dunois, the Chancellor of France, and others. The Archbishop and his citizens accepted the terms offered by the French King, and engaged to use their endeavours for the surrender of the city; but with the English nothing was concluded.

The former kept their engagement, and the French troops were introduced into the city, amidst the universal joy of the inhabitants; while the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Shrewsbury, with only 800 men, were compelled to withdraw to the palace, the castle, the gates, and other parts, for security.†

The Duke of Somerset demanded an interview with the King; and when conducted to him, he found him in the midst of his Council. Somerset required the same terms for the English as had been granted to the

* Barante; Monfaucon; Holinshed; Hall; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Monstrelet.

† Baker; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Barante; Monfaucon; Anquetil; Villaret.

citizens, viz., permission to depart the city without molestation. To this request King Charles would not accede; but added, that he now required the surrender of Harfleur, and of all the fortresses in the Pays de Caux.

"Ah!" exclaimed Somerset, "give up Harfleur; "that can never be! It was the first city which sur- "rendered to our glorious King Henry V., five-and- "thirty years ago." He then left the Council, and with melancholy forebodings retraced his way to the castle, amidst shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" and other demonstrations of the joy of the people.*

The siege was renewed by the French, and the Duke being unable, for want of provisions, to hold out many days, was, at last, compelled to capitulate. Somerset surrendered his artillery and six of the chief cities of the province, and made a payment of 50,000 crowns; he was also obliged to leave the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Butler as hostages for the performance of these conditions, and was then permitted to depart the city.† It was believed that the city would not have been lost if the citizens had remained faithful to the English; but the deficiency of supplies from England caused the Duke of Somerset to make large exactions on the people, and thus excited their ill-will.

Some authors, in speaking of the losses in France, assure us that the English were so weakened, that they could no longer resist the power of the French; while others blame the Duke of Somerset because he neglected to maintain a sufficient number of soldiers. It is certain, however, that the only true reason of all the evil was the divisions in England, where every

* Barante; Monstrelet.

† Holinshed; Baker; Monfaucon; Rapin; Stow; Henry; Villaret; Speed; Pol. Vergil.

one was seeking his private revenge, instead of uniting to resist their foreign enemies. Whilst there seemed to prevail a kind of stupor in the English Cabinet, and no attention was paid to the earnest entreaties of Somerset, and others, for supplies for the war, the whole realm was torn and distracted by contentions.

The misrule of the Queen and her ministers, the pride and hatred amongst the nobility, and the complaints of the people, all these were sufficient, even more than sufficient, to paralyse any political power or healthy action. It was the early manifestation of a morbid condition which preceded the terrific scenes of the civil war which speedily followed.

The Queen's inactivity about this time made it almost appear that she was in league with her husband's enemies; but it is evident that the English were totally unprepared for war, and, therefore, that Surienne acted independently in taking Fougiers; yet, if the English were unable to continue the war, and could not furnish the means for preserving their acquisitions in France, some effectual step ought to have been taken to establish peace.*

The conduct of the English ministers was faulty in the extreme; they suffered King Charles to amuse them with fruitless negotiations while he prepared for war; and, on their own part, they neither contrived to observe the truce, by making restitution to the Duke of Brittany, nor did they take any measures for defence. Inexcusable as were these faults of the ministers, yet an accommodation with France would have proved impossible, since King Charles was bent on war, taking advantage of the dissensions in England. These dissensions were rather aggravated than allayed

* Holinshed; Hume; Milles's Catalogue; Rapin; Villaret.

by King Henry and his Queen, the former not heeding them, and the latter being influenced by bad counsellors.

While the ministers were selected rather to favour the interests of the Queen, and to be subservient to her views and those of Suffolk, persons without talent and incompetent to rule the state were appointed, and others who had courage to oppose this party, (often men of merit and ability,) were dismissed from favour and excluded from any share in the administration. The people even complained that persons devoid of religion and without principle were chosen, in order that there might be fewer scruples in the way of any measure proposed by this party.

The Queen's government, as well as her choice of improper ministers, caused bitter complaints; and the people, impatient at the evident neglect of foreign affairs, became angry against the Duke of Suffolk, who, they said, had, by the surrender of Maine, been the cause of the losses in Normandy. They accused him of the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, whose memory was still cherished by the nation, and this served to throw a greater odium on all who were suspected of his death. Suffolk was likewise considered to have wasted the King's treasure, and to have removed from the royal presence his good and virtuous counsellors, and to have substituted persons of doubtful character, and enemies of the country. They even asserted that he had assisted in the removal of Gloucester, in order that this prince might not, with his wonted spirit and activity, penetrate or obstruct his designs.*

The Queen, too, became very obnoxious to the people; for, at this time, looking on Suffolk as the author of her power, she seemed to adopt his passions

* Holinshed; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Rapin; Baker; Hume.

as her own; and, using her authority over the King, she found means to load the Duke with favours, following his advice in all things, and appearing to treat him as her confidant.*

This conduct was very unwise on the part of Queen Margaret, and highly prejudicial to her. It could only have been occasioned by her youth and inexperience. Yet the consequent imputations cast upon the Duke of Suffolk and Queen Margaret were not only untrue, but absurd and ridiculous, as may be believed when we consider the family of Suffolk, his character in private life, and his great age. Suffolk had attained his fiftieth year before the death of his great patron and friend, the Cardinal of Winchester, who had, as well as the Queen, shown him especial favour, yet exhibiting it towards him with the most judicious care.

The aspersions cast upon herself and Suffolk were not unnoticed by the Queen, who began to fear they tended to the destruction of the Duke, and perhaps might even be fatal to herself. It is said that Queen Margaret adjourned the Parliament, assembled at that time at Blackfriars, to Leicester, and again from thence to Westminster.†

Many private dissensions originated at this period of our history; and some of them still remain involved in mystery. Amongst them may be named the enmity between Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devon. In 1449 the latter nobleman was engaged in besieging Lord Bonville in his castle of Taunton, which caused a great disturbance throughout the West of England. Assistance was most unexpectedly rendered to the besieged by Richard, Duke of York, Lord Molines, William Herbert, and others; and we are informed that Bonville delivered himself up to the Duke of York. The origin of this quarrel does not appear, but 1449.

* Carte. † Baker.

Lord Bonville from this period espoused the interests of the House of York; and even at this time Richard aimed at the crown.*

There were many changes also in the high offices of
1449. the kingdom. In this year the Bishop of Lincoln died; and, through the intercession of Suffolk, this bishopric was given to Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Carlisle.† John, Lord Beauchamp was made Treasurer, and Lord Cromwell, Chamberlain. Somewhat later the former was driven from office, and John Tiptoff, Earl of Worcester, was made Treasurer in his place; and, although Cromwell continued to be Chamberlain, we are told that the kingdom was ruled by the party of Somerset. This Duke was, indeed, sharing the royal favour. He was made Captain of Calais by King Henry, upon the occasion of the celebration of the festival of Christmas, held by this monarch at Greenwich in 1449.†

During the preceding summer a marriage had taken place, which had proved the unhappy source of contention. Thomas Neville, the son of the Earl of Salisbury, was united to the granddaughter‡ of Lord Cromwell, at Tattersalls, in Lincolnshire; and in returning from these nuptials a quarrel arose between the bridegroom and Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, near York; which, adds the historian, "gave rise to 'the greatest trouble in England."§ This, and many other dissensions, like the gathering clouds in the distance, were portentous of the approaching political
1449. storms of this realm.

Amidst the confusion which prevailed at this period, a lawyer's apprentice, named Brystall, moved that the King, having no heir to give security to his title, an heir apparent should be elected; and he proposed the

* Toulmin's Taunton; Lingard.
† W. of Worcester.
‡ Or niece, as others say.
§ Lingard.

Duke of York. . But for this offence Brystall was afterwards committed to the Tower.*

The Duke of York, at this time, first began to afford Queen Margaret cause for serious inquietude. At a meeting between this nobleman and the King he made some demands on the royal favour, to which, if this monarch was, by his meek and yielding temper, disposed to listen, we are informed that Queen Margaret was decidedly opposed; and the Duke departed in satisfaction with his sovereign, but not in the same "good conceit" with his royal mistress. It was, indeed, rumoured that if the Duke of Buckingham had not, by his interference, prevented it, the Duke of York would have been arrested. The part which Buckingham took on this occasion was caused by the offence he had taken at the sudden dismissal of his two brothers from their offices of Chancellor and Treasurer, for this Duke usually sided with the Queen.† He was also the friend of Somerset, whose part he took during an affray at Coventry, in which two or three townsmen were killed and the alarm-bell rung, when a general insurrection took place, to the annoyance of the nobility; and "all this arose from the general hatred of the Duke of Somerset."‡

The aversion was even more general against the Duke of Suffolk, who upon one occasion (in 1449) was, with Lord Cromwell and others, in the Star Chamber, when William Taylboys, with a numerous party of his attendants—who were all secretly armed—surrounded the door of Westminster Hall and the Star Chamber, as Cromwell asserted, with intent to kill him. This was denied by Taylboys, and Suffolk admitted his excuses; yet the Council committed him to the Tower. 1449.

* W. of Worcester.
† Paston Letters; W. of Worcester.
‡ Lingard; Paston Letters.

Lord Cromwell afterwards obtained a verdict against him; and, although it was against the wish of Suffolk, Taylboys was thrown into prison. Lord Cromwell also caused Suffolk to be called to account by the Commons for his disloyalty.

1449. Stow. On the 6th of November in this year John, Viscount Beaumont was made Lord Chamberlain of England; Henry de Bromefield was created Lord Vesey; and William Bonville was created Lord Bonville. William Beauchamp was also created Lord St. Amaraud, and Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont. John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying in this year, he was succeeded by John Kemp, Cardinal of York.*

A rebellion in Ireland at this time added to the troubles in which the English Court was involved; but it afforded Queen Margaret an opportunity of dismissing the Duke of York from her presence, who had made himself particularly obnoxious to her by the rumours lately circulated respecting his pretensions to the crown. He was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and dismissed to quell the insurrection, for which office, it was pretended, no one else was so well qualified. Only a few troops were, however, furnished him; and it is said that his enemies hoped he would, by a failure in this enterprise, forfeit his reputation with the people, or, that the chance of war would for ever remove this object of their mistrust.†

The Duke was keen enough to penetrate their designs; but he was so skilful that, by his condescension and mildness, he gained the good opinion of the Irish; and it must, in justice to the Duke, be said, that the Acts he passed during his administration were very creditable to his memory. He brought them back to their

* W. of Worcester; Stow; Paston Letters; Collinson's Somersetshire; Lysson's Mag. Brit.

† Baker; Stow; Rapin; Burdy's Ireland.

duty; and, without having recourse to arms, he accommodated their differences: nay, he did more than this, for he so won their affections that they ever afterwards remained faithful to his interests, and those of his family, even in their greatest troubles.* It was thus the Duke of York became all-powerful amongst this people; add to which, his vast possessions in Ireland increased his importance. He was Earl of Ulster and Cork, Lord of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, including at least a third of the kingdom in his inheritance.

In accepting the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke had taken care that it should be attended with all the honours and power which his most distinguished predecessors had enjoyed. He had stipulated to hold his government for ten years; to receive the whole revenue of Ireland without account; with a pension annually of two thousand marks, and the same sum in advance. He was also empowered to let the King's lands, to dispose of all offices, to levy all such forces as he might consider necessary, to name his own Deputy, and to return to England at his pleasure.†

Two rival powers at this time contended for supremacy amongst the Irish, at the head of which were the Earls of Desmond and Ormond. Of these it may be observed, that the former was a powerful leader, although his authority had been acquired by a kind of usurpation of the rights of his nephew.

The Earl of Ormond, struggling amidst many difficulties and troubles, had been twice unjustly accused to Henry VI., whose lenity and kindness to this nobleman seems to have originated the lasting attachment

* Stow; Speed; Leland's Ireland; Moore's Ireland; Lingard; Burdy's Ireland; Rapin; Hume; Ellis's Orig. Letters.

† Leland's Ireland.

of the family of Butlers to the House of Lancaster.* The leaders of the two opposing factions were chosen by the Duke of York, upon the birth of his son, George, Duke of Clarence, in the Castle of Dublin, to be the sponsors for the child; which incident had its full effect on Desmond, who became confirmed in his adherence to the House of York; and by the use which the Duke of York made of his power, he enabled his party, in the subsequent contests with the Lancastrians, to draw forces from Ireland to maintain their cause. It is also said that the zeal of the Irish was much augmented by the flattery of the Duke whenever called upon to support his cause in the subsequent wars.

The use of the English bow was much encouraged by the Duke in Ireland, and it was enacted that every one holding lands or possessions to the value of 20*l.* should entertain an archer, arrayed and horsed after the English manner. This provision, though apparently designed for the Irish, was really intended to maintain the Duke's cause in England, whenever he should openly assert his claims to the Crown.*

During the absence of Duke Richard in Ireland the dissensions at home continued, and no attempt was made to accommodate them. Three predominant evils still harassed the country, and seemed to threaten its ruin. First, the misgovernment of the Queen and her ministers; secondly, the pride and evil passions, especially covetousness, of the lords spiritual and temporal; and lastly, the discontents of the people, occasioned by the said misgovernment. There were many changes in the rulers, and frequent commotions throughout England, which could scarcely be allayed; the aristocracy, growing more and more powerful, contended against each other, and while yielding to their hatred

* Leland's Ireland.

and private animosities, the national welfare was forgotten.

To add to the murmurings of the people at this time, a considerable tax was laid upon the citizens of London.

The Bishop of Chichester, possibly discerning the coming disasters; resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and retired to Portsmouth, where, on the 9th of January, 1450, he was cruelly murdered by some sailors, said to have been hired for that purpose by Richard, Duke of York. Indeed the Duke's guilt was so apparent, that King Henry, two years afterwards, in his reply to the Duke of York's letter of complaint, confidently alluded to it. It has been suggested by some writers, that the Duke's hatred to all who were either wise or valiant enough to uphold King Henry, prompted him to this despicable action, and the sincerity of the Bishop could not fail to be a crime in the eyes of York. This was but one of many perfidious acts done by the adherents or accomplices of Richard, while he remained in Ireland. The people generally, however, appear to have taken part in this cruel deed, since they cried out that the Bishop was "a traitor to the King and Queen, and one of the "barterers of Normandy." 1450. Speed.

Adam Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, who was of the baronial family of Moleyns, was also Dean of Salisbury. The old chroniclers call him "a wise and "stout man." He was one of the ambassadors who, conjointly with Sir Robert Roos and others, had agreed for the cession of Maine and Anjou.*

In the same year, though somewhat later, the great power of Richard, Duke of York, was again made 1450. Stow.

* Adam Moleyns was succeeded by Sir Reginald Peacock in the bishopric of Chichester.—*Stow; Speed; Carte; W. of Worcester; Tbulmin; Howel's Med. Hist. Ang.*

apparent. In the city of Gloucester he took Reginald, Abbot of St. Peter's, and sent him, with others, to the castle of Gloucester. This act was immediately on the Duke's return from Ireland.*

1450. The annals of this year were filled with tragical events, which exhibited the ferocious spirit of the times, and seemed to be precursors of the coming national calamities. One dark and mysterious page relates the cruel destruction of William Ascough, Bishop of Salisbury. He was descended from an ancient family, seated at Kelsey, in Lincolnshire. On the 26th of July, 1438, he had been consecrated to the above see, in the chapel of Windsor, and soon after appointed the King's confessor; this being the first instance of a bishop fulfilling this office.

Having occupied this see nearly twelve years, he had become obnoxious to the Commons of Leicester, who pointed him out as an object of public resentment, and when the rebel Jack Cade and his followers came to Edginton, in Lincolnshire, where the Bishop then was, some of this prelate's own tenants joined the rebels, and falling upon his carriages, plundered them, carrying off no less than 10,000 marks in money. They assaulted the Bishop himself on the following day, the 29th of June, 1450, even whilst officiating at the altar in his vestments; and dragging him away to a neighbouring hill, they barbarously murdered him. While kneeling down and offering his last prayer, one of the party clove his skull with a bill; then tearing his bloody shirt in pieces, *to be preserved in memory of the action*, they left his body naked on the spot.†

* Stow; Fosbroke's Gloucestershire.

† Stow; Fabian Speed; W. of Worcester; Baker; Lingard; Fuller's Worthies.

Dr. Fuller, in speaking of this tragedy, gives this distich:—

> "By people's fury mitre thus cast down
> "We pray henceforward God preserve the crown."

The motive for this cruel treatment is not at first apparent. Bishop Godwin cannot account for it; but Dr. Fuller imagines it was because the Bishop of Salisbury was "learned, pious, and rich," three capital crimes in a clergyman; and the last of these sufficiently accounted for the horrid tragedy, it being very probable, that, having robbed the good Bishop, they afterwards murdered him to secure his riches.

When we again consider the *tearing of the bloody shirt to pieces, to be borne away as a trophy* of the act, it does not appear that it was *avarice* which actuated the murderers. The circumstance of the Bishop's own tenants having joined in the attack would seem to show that he was, though perhaps unjustly, held to be a haughty or cruel master.*

1450. Rapin.

Amidst the general dissatisfaction, which extended itself even to the members of the Council, Parliament met to arrange the affairs of France, and to devise some means for the recovery of their losses. The Queen perceived the necessity of their assistance to prosecute the war in France, lest they should be compelled to withdraw from that kingdom, and thus afford fresh cause for displeasure to the nation.

The divisions in the Cabinet suggested to the mind of Queen Margaret that she might obtain her object with more facility by the removal of the Parliament to Leicester, where she hoped to find herself more popular than in London; but her design was so earnestly opposed by the Lords, that she was compelled to abandon it, and the meeting was held at West-

* Fuller's Worthies; Biograph. Britannica.

minster. The Lords assembled there were very numerous, and it seems they had apprehended some secret plot, similar to that which had led to the fate of the Duke of Gloucester.*

1450. Holinshed; Hume. At this meeting of Parliament the Duke of Suffolk was accused of high treason. The articles of impeachment were numerous, of which the chief were the following:—

1st. His having treated with the French ambassadors, to persuade King Charles to invade England, with a view to placing his own son, John, on the throne, whom he proposed to marry to Margaret, the daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, and who, it was pretended by him, was next lawful heir to the crown.

2ndly. That he had been bribed by the French to release the Duke of Orleans.

3rdly. That he had advised the said Duke of Orleans, before his departure from England, to persuade the King of France to make war in Normandy, by which advice the English had lost that province.

4thly. That he had agreed at the treaty of Tours for the surrender of Maine and Anjou, including the city of Mans, to the King of Sicily and his brother, Charles of Anjou, without the consent of his associates in this embassy; and that, upon his return to England, he prevailed upon the King and the Council to perform his engagement, to their great loss and disadvantage.

5thly. That he had traitorously made known to the French, while abroad, the weakness of the English garrisons in their kingdom, which information induced them to assault them.

6thly. That he had betrayed the secrets of the English Cabinet to their enemies.

* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Stow; Rapin.

7thly. That he prevented the conclusion of peace, by betraying the purposes and instructions of the ambassadors sent to treat with France.

8thly. That he had boasted before some lords, that his influence and credit at the French court was as great as in England.

9thly. That he had, in compliance with the views of King Charles, by whom he had been bribed, detained the forces prepared to oppose their enemies.

10thly. That he had omitted in the treaty for the truce the names of the King of Arragon and the Duke of Brittany (both comprised on the part of France), by which neglect the kingdom was deprived of both these allies.*

The Duke of Suffolk came forward boldly to assert his innocence; and in answer to these charges he gave a formal denial to the greater part of them, while he replied to others by producing the written commands of the King. It was not in vain that the Duke had taken the precaution to provide himself with this instrument. Suffolk cleared himself before the Council of all these charges, except the last, which concerned the King of Arragon and the Duke of Brittany, which he still left a mystery; yet the popular rage could not be appeased.

The Commons sent up to the Lords, a month later, a new impeachment, charging Suffolk with improvident waste of the public money, and of advising the King to impoverish himself by needless grants; of bestowing public offices on disloyal persons, and of screening from justice a notorious outlaw, named William Taylboys. In neither of these impeachments was any mention made of the death of Gloucester, which, by some, has been considered as a

* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Speed; Fabian; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Allen's York; Hume; Villaret.

proof that there was no evidence of his having been murdered.

In the House of Lords the Duke of Suffolk arose and complained of the clamours raised against him. He insisted on his innocence, and expressed his concern that, after having served his country during thirty-four campaigns, seventeen of which he had passed abroad without seeing his native land; after having suffered in its cause an imprisonment, from which he had only been released by paying a large ransom; having lost his father and three brothers in the cause of the Crown, that he should be suspected of yielding to bribery, and of betraying his sovereign, who had liberally rewarded him with the richest of gifts, and highest honours in his power to bestow.* This speech, however, failed to calm the resentment of the Duke's enemies, who were rather provoked by it to insist on the truth of their charges; yet these accusations were absurd and ill-founded, and adopted, rather upon the clamours of the people, than out of regard to justice and truth.†

It may be observed that greater skill and prudence were required for the defence of the English possessions in France, in the present position of affairs, than formerly had been necessary for Henry V. to acquire them; but this the people of England did not comprehend; and although they had granted very willingly the necessary supplies for the war, they complained bitterly of the loss of their acquisitions. It was not probable that a minister so high in the esteem of his sovereign, could abandon his foreign conquests, and invite the enemy, to assert his personal rights at home. The surrender of Maine might deserve to be censured, but Suffolk maintained that some of the Council had

* Rot. Parl.; Speed; Lingard; Allen's York; Rapin; Hume; Villaret; Monstrelet.

† Howel; Hume; Allen's York.

given their consent to it; and that, as the English could not garrison all their fortresses abroad, it was proposed to contract their forces, and thus to make them more formidable. The subsequent loss of Normandy ought not to have been ascribed to this surrender, as it was already open to invasion.* There would be little credibility in the idea of a person of the rank and character of Suffolk endeavouring to obtain the crown for his son; to effect which, he would have to call in the arms of the French to depose his own sovereign, whose right had been hitherto uncontroverted, and whose mild and inoffensive manners had made him beloved by his subjects. Queen Margaret, also, was far too active and penetrating to suffer such a purpose to escape her observation. Had she discovered it, there is no doubt that she would have withdrawn her favour from such an aspiring person, even if she had not resented it by inflicting some severe punishment; but the Queen remained the patroness of the Duke, and sought to screen him from the rage of the people.† It was also proved by the Duke of Suffolk before the peers, that Margaret of Somerset, to whom, it was said, he proposed to marry his son, had no title to the Crown; and he also appealed to some of those who were present, and who were acquainted with his intention of uniting his son to one of the co-heirs of the Earl of Warwick, had he not been disappointed in doing so by the death of that lady. The losses in France were accounted for by the negligence of the English ministers, and the people's discontent, which caused the foreign affairs to be forgotten, or but ill attended to, while King Charles was improving his states and preparing for war.

To appease the Commons, the Queen caused the Duke of Suffolk to be sent to the Tower; and thinking

* Hume; Croyland Cont. † W. of Worcester.

that this would satisfy them, she soon afterwards ordered him to be released, when he was received into his former favour at court. It appears, however, that from this time Suffolk, dreading the popular resentment, usually went out with a guard to protect him.

The news of the Duke's liberation gave occasion for a sedition in Kent; but this was soon appeased.*

1450. Paston Letters. The Queen, in April this year, procured an adjournment of the Parliament to Leicester, fearing that the enemies of Suffolk would persist in impeaching him. At this meeting the Duke appeared, in attendance on the King and Queen, in quality of Prime Minister, which gave great offence to the Commons, as it seemed to be done in contempt of them; nor were they slow in resenting this conduct. They came forward in a body to petition the King to punish all those persons who had been instrumental in the surrender of Normandy, and they accused the Duke of Suffolk, John, Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Say, and others. As there appeared no other means of quieting the people, the King removed Lord Say, (Treasurer of England,) from office, and also the other adherents of Suffolk.

The Duke was, meanwhile, reserved for a severer fate. His ruin seemed to be determined by the Commons, and there was no alternative but to punish him, or to engage in an open quarrel with that House; the Queen, therefore, judging that any sentence passed at such a moment must, necessarily, be a severe one, endeavoured to save the Duke from some part of the punishment which might, probably, be intended for him, by preventing a formal sentence.

The King assembled his Lords in his own apartment, and caused the Duke to appear before them, when he

* Holinshed; Baker; Biondi; Hall; Stow; Speed; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; W. of Worcester; Baudier; Villaret.

demanded of him what he could urge in his defence. The Duke of Suffolk denied the charge, but threw himself on the mercy of the King, upon which King Henry passed upon him sentence of banishment for the period of five years.*

During the trial of Suffolk, the people were in a state of great agitation; and when the sentence was made known to them, they openly threatened the life of the Duke, and a party of 2,000 men even attempted to intercept him in his way from prison; but they only succeeded in seizing his horse, and ill-treating his servants, and the Duke proceeded to his estates in Suffolk.† Finding that his banishment was his only means of safety from the rage of the populace, the Duke of Suffolk hastened to embark.‡ 1450. Rapin; Lingard; Hume.

When about to depart his country, he assembled all the knights and esquires of his neighbourhood, and took oath on the sacrament, in their presence, that he was not guilty of the crimes of which he had been accused. He also wrote an eloquent and affectionate letter to his son; and we are assured by one of our historians, that "whoever has read this affecting composition will find it difficult to persuade himself that the writer could have been either a false subject or a bad man."‡ Judging from historic facts *only*, it still appears that Suffolk had been in some way implicated in Gloucester's removal from court, if not in his death,§ probably being influenced by the Cardinal of Winchester. He might have been ensnared into some measures which his heart and conscience did not approve, for the epistle of this nobleman to his son bears evident marks of a penitent mind, and of an

* Sandford; Paston Letters; Howel; Stow; Speed; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Allen's York; Baudier; Villaret.

† Lingard; Hall; W. of Worcester.

‡ Rapin; Henry; Allen's York.

§ Lingard; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester

anxious desire to preserve his son from the consequences of such evil counsels and designs as he had himself fallen under. The letter is as follows:—

"My dear and only well-beloved Son,—I beseech "our Lord in Heaven, the Maker of all the world, to "bless you, and to send you ever grace to love Him, "and to dread Him; to the which, as far as a father "may charge his child, I both charge you and pray "you to set all your spirits and wits to do and to know "His holy laws and commandments, by the which ye "shall, with His great mercy, pass all the great "tempests and troubles of this wretched world."

"And that also, weetingly, ye do nothing for love "nor dread of any earthly creature that should dis-"please Him. And there as (*whenever*) any frailty "maketh you to fall, beseech His mercy soon to call you "to Him again with repentance, satisfaction, and contri-"tion of your heart, never more in will to offend him."

"Secondly, next Him, above all earthly things, to be "true liegeman in heart, in will, in thought, in deed "unto the King, our aldermost (*greatest*) high and "dread sovereign lord, to whom both ye and I be "so much bound to; charging you, as father can and "may, rather to die than to be the contrary, or to "know anything that were against the welfare or pro-"sperity of his most royal person: but that, as far as "your body and life may stretch, ye live and die to "defend it, and to let His Highness have knowledge "thereof in all the haste you can."

"Thirdly, in the same wise I charge you, my dear "son, alway as ye be bounden by the commandment "of God to do, to love, to worship your Lady and "Mother; and also that ye obey alway her command-"ments, and to believe her counsels and advices in all "your works, the which dread not but shall be best "and truest to you."

"And if any other body would steer you to the con-
" trary to flee the counsel in any wise, for ye shall find
" it nought and evil."

" Furthermore, as far as father may and can, I charge
" you in any wise to flee the company and counsel
" of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering
" men, the more especially and mightily to withstand
" them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them,
" with all your might and power; and to draw to you,
" and to your company, good and virtuous men, and
" such as be of good conversation and of truth, and
" by them shall ye never be deceived nor repent
" ye of."

" Moreover, never follow your own wit in no wise,
" but in all your works, of such folks as I write of
" above, ask your advice and counsel, and doing thus,
" with the mercy of God, ye shall do right well,
" and live in right much worship, and great heart's
" rest and ease."

" And I will be to you as good Lord and Father as
" my heart can think."

" And last of all, as heartily and as lovingly as ever
" father blessed his child in earth, I give you the bless-
" ing of our Lord and of me, which, of His infinite
" mercy, increase you in all virtue and good living;
" and that your blood may, by his grace, from kindred
" to kindred multiply in this earth to His service in
" such wise, as after the departing from this wretched
" world here, ye and they may glorify him eternally
" amongst his angels in heaven,"

"Written of mine hand,

" The day of my departing from this land,"

" Your true and loving father,"

" April, 1450, " SUFFOLK." *

" 28 Henry VI."

* Paston Letters.

The Duke of Suffolk had so incurred the hatred of the English nation that he was regarded with equal detestation by all ranks in the kingdom. The nobility were envious of his exaltation to the premiership, and of the great favour shown him at court, and they could not bear to behold the preference given to one of inferior birth to themselves, and who was but the descendant of a merchant. His immense acquisitions also excited their envy, and as they took from the Crown (already reduced to the most shameful poverty), they appeared, even to the indifferent, to be highly censurable. The people, already exasperated at the Duke's supposed share in procuring the death of Gloucester, complained of his arbitrary measures, and of the injustice of his conduct. It may, however, be observed, that Suffolk and his associates in the ministry were compelled to adopt some measures which, in the eyes of the vulgar, might appear unnecessary, owing to the impoverished state of the revenues of the Crown, and their load of debt, amounting to £372,000, which could not be discharged; and the purveyors of the King, for the support of his household, were even compelled to become exorbitant upon the people, and to extend their demands to the utmost of their prerogative.*

1450. The Duke of Suffolk sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels and a little spinner. This last the Duke sent forward with letters, by some of his most faithful servants, towards Calais, to ascertain how he might be received there; but danger awaited him even in his flight from his native land. His enemies, perceiving that he still possessed the Queen's confidence, and that the irregular proceedings were intended for his preservation—judging, also, that it was probable he would, on the first opportunity, be restored to his former

* Hume.

dignities and favour at court—engaged the captain of a vessel of war to waylay him on his passage to France.* This vessel, carrying 150 men, had other ships in company, and its master having met the little spinner on its way, learnt of the coming of the Duke. The ships of Suffolk were captured, and the Duke himself ordered on board the *Nicholas of the Tower*, one of the largest vessels in the navy, belonging to the Duke of Exeter, Constable of the Tower.

Suffolk inquired the name of the ship; and on hearing it, he remembered the words of Stacy, who had foretold of him, that "if he might escape the danger of the Tower he should be safe;" and his heart failed him, believing himself deceived.

When the Duke of Suffolk entered this vessel, he was received with the awful salutation of "Welcome, traitor!" He remained two nights on board, during which time he wrote a letter to the King, had much converse with his confessor, and was compelled to submit to a mock trial before the sailors, who passed sentence of death upon him. He was, upon the second morning, let down into a small boat alongside the vessel, which was furnished with a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner, who, after requiring him to die like a knight, at the sixth blow struck off his head. The sailors next seized his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and the body, thus stripped, was laid upon the sands near Dover, and his head, fixed upon a pole, was set by it. The hatred of the murderers of this nobleman was only directed against him personally, and did not extend to his followers, who were permitted to disembark unhurt. The attendants of the Duke, placing themselves by the remains of their master, offered up their prayers. Then the

* Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; Speed; Allen's York; Lingard; Henry.

Sheriff of Kent watched the body while he dismissed the Under-Sheriff to the judges, and then to the King, for some commands respecting it.

The Duke's remains were afterwards delivered to his widow, and buried in the collegiate church of Wingfield, in Suffolk.*

Thus perished one of Queen Margaret's first friends in England; yet he had occasioned her many misfortunes.

There was no inquiry made after the perpetrators of this illegal act. The death of Suffolk was regarded by some persons as a just punishment from God for procuring the murder of Gloucester. His guilt, however, in this affair has not been proved; and if this accusation was unjust, still there can be little doubt that he caused many evils to his country, and to his ill conduct must be attributed the repeated losses in France. He had nevertheless previously distinguished himself for twenty-four years at the head of the English armies in France, had gained many signal victories, and, on the death of the Earl of Salisbury at the siege of Orleans, the chief command devolved on Suffolk, and he vigorously continued the siege.

When the English were defeated before Orleans, and subsequently, when many disasters befel them, Suffolk exhibited much bravery. He was at one time taken prisoner, but soon released in exchange for one of the French nobility, of whom many were in the hands of the English.†

The King and Queen were both grieved at the death

* By some, however, it has been said that he was interred at Kingston-upon-Hull. His effigies in armour, carved in wood, painted and gilt, were placed upon his altar-tomb.—*Holinshed; Baker; Paston Letters; Hall; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; London Chron.; Henry; Lingard; Allen's York.*

† Rapin; Holinshed; Speed; Allen's York.

of Suffolk. Queen Margaret was much enraged at the manner in which this deed was effected, and even threatened to be revenged, especially on the people of Kent; and this threat, we are told, became a plea for a formidable rebellion, which took place not long after in that county.*

The death of the Duke of Suffolk appears to have been effected by a party who had sworn his destruction. This party consisted of some of the first persons in the kingdom, and whose vengeance was not to be averted by the failure of his prosecution, or by his escape from the mob, who attempted to intercept him in his way from prison. Of the motives of these persons we are left in ignorance.

It has been conjectured by some writers that the enemies of the Duke, and who procured his death, were those ambitious nobles who envied him for the preference shown him in the Council chamber. Others have concluded that he was removed through the policy of the Duke of York, because his presence was a bar to the attainment of his views; and in support of this opinion they allege that some of the noblemen, who afterwards actively espoused the cause of York, came to the Parliament at Leicester, at which Suffolk was impeached, with hundreds of their retainers in arms.†

If we admit the agency of Suffolk in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, we at once account for many of the irregular and apparently mysterious proceedings of the nobility of that period, and which, until the principles and motives which influenced them be explained, cannot be at all understood. The Duke of York was the friend of Gloucester, and it is probable that he might have resented the treatment shown him; and upon his death, when a new path appeared to be laid open to his ambition, which he resolved to pursue,

* Henry; Lingard. † Lingard; Paston Letters.

he might have endeavoured to remove one obstacle to his views in the person of Suffolk, when, by so doing, he might think he was only inflicting a just punishment on the murderer of his friend. This was but one instance of the summary vengeance to which Duke Richard had recourse, and it was peculiar to his times.

The Duke of Gloucester had long enjoyed the favour and affections of the people, and it was the earnest desire of York to obtain these also; but he had been twice depreciated in their eyes by one who had already incurred his resentment.

He had been removed from his Regency in France to make way for his rival, the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards dismissed into Ireland to quell a rebellion there, with inadequate forces; and both of these measures originated with Suffolk.*

These causes would seem to account for the removal of Suffolk by the agency of the Duke of York, especially as he was himself in Ireland, which prevented suspicion falling on him, while his two great friends, Warwick and Mowbray, with their armed retainers, seemed to have prepared themselves for resistance at Leicester, should any suspicion rest on them, or should the Queen or her party seek to revenge themselves for this murder.

There appears to have been a premeditated scheme to destroy the Duke of Suffolk, as these noblemen arriving at Leicester previous to this murder, they seem to have awaited its results, and agreeably to a previous acquaintance with this design. Both the Commons and people hated the Duke. The Queen and her party alone sought to defend him; and, as the last means for his safety, suddenly came to the resolution to banish him the realm.

The haste and secrecy observed in the execution of

Baker.

this determination, and the King's private council, would make it probable that the Queen had discovered some fresh cause for alarm. The people and the Commons had, neither of them, concerted any general plan by which to get rid of their enemy. The capture of the vessel also must have been by a very superior force to that of Suffolk, as his attendants did not make the least resistance, and yet they were attached to his person, as appears evident from their conduct when put on shore.*

This powerful rival of York being removed while he was in Ireland, engaged in pacifying the Irish, the Duke continued to receive from his friends particular accounts of the proceedings in England, where his secret agents contrived to serve him by extolling his merits to the people, and by reminding them of the King's incapacity and of the Queen's arbitrary government. These representations had the more weight, as the general discontent increased on the subject of the losses in Normandy, and the Duke's party was augmented daily, while Richard thus cherished the displeasure of the nation instead of redressing their wrongs.†

The Queen, perceiving that the dissatisfaction, so general in the country, arose partly from the repeated losses abroad, despatched a reinforcement of 1,500 men to the Duke of Somerset, under the command of Sir Thomas Keriel. These forces were joined by many other troops, with their leaders, from the English garrisons, which much augmented their numbers; but they were met by the Constable Richmont at Fourmigni, where, after having defended themselves with great valour, they were entirely routed and their commander taken prisoner.‡

* Paston Letters; Allen's York.

† Hall; Howel's Med. Ang.; Rapin.

‡ Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Anquetil; Monstrelet; Villaret.

Somerset, who had retired to Caen after the surrender of Rouen, was now left without resource. King Charles's forces surrounded that city, led on by his most skilful generals, and amongst them the Constable, who had just been victorious at Fourmigni. There came also the Counts Dunois, Clermont, d'Eu, and Nevers, with the different armies of France. They had already conquered Harfleur, Bayeux, Honfleur, Avranches, and other cities, and now they were joined by the King, who came to besiege in person the city of Caen, attended by the King of Sicily, the Dukes of Calabria, Alençon, St. Pol, and many others.

The besieged were well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and a long siege was expected.*

It was in vain for the Duke to resist these united forces, yet with but little hope the English defended themselves, and with much skill and courage persevered in repulsing their assailants. The walls sustained some damage, but the castle, which was situated on a rock, and had within it a dungeon which was inaccessible, received no injury.

Sir Robert Veer was captain of the castle, Sir Henry Bedford of the dungeon, while Sir David Hall, who had been appointed to the care of the city under the Duke of York, was still permitted to retain this office. It happened that while the cannonading of the city was continued daily, in a manner that was more alarming than dangerous, a stone shot fell in the town, and, as it chanced, came between the Duchess of Somerset and her children, which so terrified this lady that she implored her husband, on her knees, to have compassion on his family, and to procure their safe departure from the city.† Whether the Duke was influenced by the persuasions of his wife, or foresaw

* Barante ; Baker ; Monfaucon ; Rapin ; Villaret ; Anquetil.

† Holinshed ; Hall.

that the city must soon surrender, (for it was on the eve of being taken by storm,) the Duke resolved to capitulate, and it is said that he did so contrary to the advice of the other governors, who declared that it was not yet time to think of yielding.* The city was saved the horrors of an assault, and by the clemency of King Charles, the Duke and his family, and all the garrison were permitted to depart, leaving only their artillery and 300 crowns.†

Sir David Hall, who had been always faithful and diligent in his trust, and who would have still defended the town if others had supported him, now remembering the interests of his former master, the Duke of York, departed with some of his trusty friends to Cherbourg, and there embarking, sailed for Ireland, where he recounted to this nobleman the unfortunate issue of the war and the loss of Caen. This recital served to excite still more anger and hatred against the Duke of Somerset in the heart of one already sufficiently his enemy, and who never afterwards ceased to persecute him until his enmity was silenced in the tomb.‡

The remainder of Normandy was soon subdued, and after two campaigns the King of France beheld himself master of this province. Not one town now belonged to the English of all their fair possessions.

The duties of the Duke of Somerset being ended, he returned to England to take an active part in the contentions so general, to supply the place of Suffolk in the hatred of the people, and to be equally confirmed in the good opinion of Queen Margaret.§

It was during the same year in which the French had been so triumphant, and had recovered entirely a

* Holinshed; Hall; Rapin; Barante; Villaret.

† Baker; Stow; Olivier de la Marche; Monstrelet.

‡ Hall; History of Shrewsbury.

§ Barante; Rapin; Sandford; Monfaucon; Milles's Catalogue; W. of Worcester.

province which the English had been possessed of for thirty years, that the discontents of the English nation, hitherto confined to complaints and menaces, and only vented upon individuals, broke out into open rebellion. The Queen's credit had sensibly declined, since, notwithstanding her threats, she could devise no means of punishing those who had been the murderers of Suffolk. She appears to have been left at this period to stand alone at the helm of government, and she is said to have shown great firmness during the troubles with which she had to contend.*

The war was apparently at an end, a truce having been concluded; yet the minds of the chief nobility were agitated continually, and none of them obtained the peace which they had been so long anticipating.

This was owing, as we are informed, to the great lenity of the King, who, had he shown greater firmness and exerted his regal authority, might have overruled all ranks and composed their differences.†

1450. A bill at this time was passed in the Lower House to attaint the memory of the Duke of Suffolk, and another to remove the Duke of Somerset from Court, and also the Duchess of Suffolk and most of the friends of the King; but King Henry would not give his assent to the first. This bill was expressed in the language of the Kentish insurgents, viz.:—"That Suffolk had been the cause of the arrest and death of Gloucester, and of abridging the days of other princes of the blood." While the Duke was alive they dared not to bring forward these charges, which has been considered as a proof of the innocence of Suffolk. Thus began to appear the rebellious spirit which marked these times.‡

* Sandford; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Barante; Villaret; Holinshed.
† Baudier; Milles's Catalogue.
‡ Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

It has been maintained by many historians that the Duke of York, fearing openly to lay claim to the crown, wished, during his stay in Ireland, to try the dispositions of the people towards himself, and thus to judge of the probability of his future success; to this end he instigated an Irishman, named Cade, of low extraction and of desperate character, to become the leader of a rebellion amongst the Kentishmen. Jack Cade had formerly been in the service of Sir Thomas Dacre, and had fled to France to escape punishment for a murder of which he had been convicted. While abroad he had served in the French armies, and had acquired some skill and experience in military affairs; and his naturally bold and adventurous spirit well fitted him for the leader of a rebellious people. To give importance to his enterprise, Cade assumed the name of John Mortimer, of the House of March; and endeavoured, as it is believed, to pass himself off for the son of the nobleman of that name, who had been, in the former reign, condemned and executed for high treason. 1450. Baker; Rapin; Hume; Paston Letters; London Chron.

In the present disaffection to the government, numbers were ready to listen to any one who would promise to redress their grievances; and the friends of the Duke of York, who were numerous in the county of Kent, soon rallied round the adventurer who had assumed so popular a name.* Cade thus assembled great numbers, pretending that his object was a reformation in the government, and the relief of the people; and he assured his followers that his enterprise was both "honourable to God and the King, and profitable to the whole realm." He also added, that should the King or Queen fall into their hands, they should be treated with respect. The army of this adventurer was speedily augmented to the num-

* Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Hume; Rapin; Villaret.

ber of 20,000; and with these he proceeded to Blackheath, and there encamped. The King sent to the insurgents, to demand the occasion of their taking up arms; and received for answer, that they designed no harm to their sovereign, but that they desired to petition Parliament to punish bad ministers, and to show more regard for the happiness of the people. The King marched against these rebels with an army of more than 15,000 men; but, upon his approach, Cade retreated to Sevenoaks, and there lay in ambush; while Henry, supposing that they had fled through fear, returned to the city, and contented himself with sending a small force against them, under the command of Lord Stafford. These troops were surprised by the insurgents, and defeated; their leader was slain, and Cade arrayed himself in the armour of that knight. At first the petitions of the insurgents were regarded as seditious, and only to be silenced by force of arms; they were now considered to be more reasonable. The rebels even inquired why they should fight against their own countrymen, seeing they were but asserting their national rights? Two petitions had been presented already by Cade, containing the demands of his followers. They were called "the complaints of the Commons of Kent," and "the requests of the captain of the great assembly in Kent." They represented the grievances of the country, viz., that the King designed to punish the people of Kent for the murder of the Duke of Suffolk, of which they were innocent; that he gave away the revenue of the crown, and maintained himself by taxing the Commons; that the lords of the blood-royal were excluded from the Cabinet, while men of low extraction were admitted to supply their places; that the sheriffs, collectors, and others, were insupportable extortioners; and that in the election of knights the

commoners did not obtain their just influence. In short, that justice was not duly and speedily administered.

They demanded that the relatives of Suffolk should be banished from court; and that the King should receive into favour the Dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with other earls and barons. They required the punishment of all who had shared in the destruction of the Duke of Gloucester, and of those who had been the cause of the loss of Maine, Anjou, and Normandy, as well as of several well-known traitors, called Slegge, Cromer, Lisle, and Robert Este. These petitions also contained many assurances of loyalty and affection to the King, in whose service they professed themselves willing to suffer even to death. These demands appeared plausible; and as the insurgents, although elated with their victory, maintained a show of moderation, even promising that if their grievances were redressed, and certain obnoxious persons punished, (the chief of whom were Lord Say, the late Treasurer, and Cromer, High Sheriff of Kent), they would lay down their arms, the King's Council found it difficult to persuade the people to advance against them. It was not merely the common people, but also persons of wealth and high rank who inclined to the side of these rebels, and so general was the unwillingness to fight against them, and the persuasion that pacific measures should be adopted, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham were sent to confer with them.

Cade behaved upon this occasion with propriety, but with decision; and while he showed them respect, he refused to disband his troops until his petitions had been complied with.

Some concessions were now deemed indispensable;

and upon the return of these deputies Lord Say was committed to prison, and Lord Scales being appointed to the care of the Tower of London with a sufficient garrison, the King disbanded his army, and withdrew, for greater security, to the castle of Kenilworth.* Cade and his followers, who had resumed their position on Blackheath, next proceeded to London. Here it had been already determined, in a Council held by the Lord Mayor, that no resistance should be offered them. The gates were thrown open, and the insurgents, whose numbers were vastly augmented since the late victory, came into the city triumphantly. Cade, as he entered, cut the ropes of the drawbridge, and afterwards, passing London Stone, he struck it with his sword, exclaiming, "Now is Mortimer lord of this city!"

After their entrance into the capital, Cade contrived for some time to maintain the utmost discipline amongst his followers, whom he forbade, under threats of severe punishment, to injure the citizens. He even led his troops, to prevent disorder, every evening back to the Borough. Cade insisted on the Lord Mayor and the Judges assembling in Guildhall, and he caused Lord Say to be arraigned. Sentence was passed upon him, as well as upon the Duchess of Suffolk, and others, who were considered to be the accomplices of Suffolk. Lord Say was soon after beheaded, and his son-in-law, Cromer, the Sheriff of Kent, being found, shared the same fate. After this cruelty the head of the ill-fated nobleman, and also that of Cromer, were fixed on poles, and carried through the streets of the metropolis, with acts of shocking brutality, by the populace.

When the vengeance of the rebels had been somewhat satiated with the blood of these two individuals, they

* See Appendix, p. 435.

became less circumspect in their conduct; Cade himself is said to have relaxed in his discipline, and to have plundered the house of a tradesman who had received him with hospitality. Upon this, the rabble eagerly sought to enrich themselves with the plunder of the wealthy, and several houses were entered and pillaged; at length, the rich citizens taking the alarm, concerted measures with Lord Scales to prevent the repetition of these injuries. Cade receiving intelligence, however, that they purposed to defend the drawbridge, and not to admit his party on the ensuing day, a riot followed, and during six hours a severe conflict was maintained between the two parties, when the citizens obtaining the advantage, Cade was compelled to retreat. It was agreed on both sides to suspend hostilities, being weary of the contest.

At this juncture, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, who remained in the Tower, dismissed the Bishop of Winchester (William Waynfleet),* to the borough of Southwark, whither the rebels had retreated, to offer them a pardon, under the Great Seal, to all except their leader; provided they immediately laid down their arms, and returned peaceably to their homes. The Kentishmen, discouraged by their late defeat, accepted the proposal with gratitude, and dispersed themselves; but Cade, suspecting that the King would not extend his mercy to the leader of the rebellion, repented, and once more attempted to assemble the disaffected. He found many still ready to support him; but the authority he had once lost could not be regained. The common cause was forgotten by these ruffians, who sought only to enrich themselves with the plunder which had been conveyed

* On the death of the Cardinal, William Waynfleet had been advanced to the bishopric of Winchester. He exhibited great abilities, integrity, and prudence, especially in this insurrection.

from the city. At length, Cade, hopeless of re-establishing unanimity amongst them, fled on horseback into Sussex.

He was soon traced to his place of retreat, where, (defending himself courageously to the last,) he was slain by the new Sheriff of Kent, Alexander Iden. The head of this rebel, for which a reward of a thousand marks had been offered by the King, was carried to London, and placed on the bridge.

Several of the associates of Cade in this rebellion suffered on the scaffold; and it was afterwards laid to the charge of the Duke of York, that they had acknowledged that their design was to place him upon the throne, had their enterprise succeeded.*

King Henry, however, failed to turn to advantage the success he had thus gained over the insurgents, and his inactivity at this crisis proved detrimental to his cause. The ministers of the King had offended the people, yet their attachment to the House of Lancaster remained firm and unshaken, and had Henry acted at once with great decision and spirit, the ambitious hopes of the Duke of York would have been early crushed, and the rights of the Lancastrian sovereign firmly established in the land.

* Baker; Hall; Holinshed; Sandford; Fabian; Stow; Biondi; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; London Chron.; Rapin; Villaret; Philpott's Kent; Birch's Illus. Persons of Great Britain.

CHAPTER VII.

(*Clarence.*) "A little fire is quickly trodden out;
"Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench."

(*King Henry.*) "Thus stands my state, 'twixt Cade and York distress'd;
"Like to a ship, that, having 'scap'd a tempest,
"Is straightway calm'd and boarded with a pirate:
"But now is Cade driven back, his men dispers'd;
"And now is York in arms to second him."

(*Warwick.*) "I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares;
"Resolve thee, Richard; claim the English crown."—SHAKESPEARE.

Clamours against Somerset—He is sent to the Tower—The people murmur and suspect Queen Margaret—The Duke of York returns to England—He assembles his friends—The Earls of Westmoreland, Salisbury and Warwick, and the Duke of York described—Their connections—The Duke of York retires to Wales, raises an army and returns to London—He encamps at Brent Heath—He disbands his army—Interview between the Dukes of York and Somerset—York is apprehended and released—Treaty of peace with Scotland—The Queen goes to Norwich—Her condescension—Her letters—An effort made to recover Guienne—Talbot's success—His death—His character—Tastes—Gift to the Queen—Loss of France—Death of the Queen's mother—Complaints against the Queen—King Henry's illness—Birth of Prince Edward—Calumnies against Queen Margaret—The Duke of York urges his claim to the crown—His character—His party obtains great influence—Somerset arrested and sent to the Tower—The Duke of York made "Protector"—He holds a Parliament and gets possession of Calais—King Henry recovers—He resumes his authority, and Somerset is released—The King tries to reconcile York and Somerset—York is offended and withdraws into Wales to raise an army.

QUEEN MARGARET had accompanied the King when he marched at the head of his army of 15,000 against the rebels, but on the latter retreating, the Queen, far from being animated with the warlike spirit which marked her subsequent career, did not encourage her

consort to follow up his success by the pursuit of the insurgents. Yielding rather to feminine weakness, or fear, she entreated that the King would not place himself in personal peril, but resign to his lieutenants this easy victory.

The prayers of Margaret prevailed, and Henry, giving Sir Humphrey Stafford charge of his forces, retired with the Queen to the castle of Kenilworth.

Surely in the midst of the troubles and difficulties with which Queen Margaret had so lately been surrounded, it can hardly be doubted, that she must have greatly required the skill and experience of the several nobles and statesmen of whose services she had, in so brief a period, been deprived. Her indignation had been excited by the cruel murder of the Duke of Suffolk, whom she had vainly endeavoured to protect; and while deploring the loss of her earliest friend in England (who had brought her hither, and had braved with her the public enmity and hatred), how painful must it have been to her to endure alone these trials!

Even more than Suffolk must the youthful Queen have missed the talented Cardinal of Winchester, whose skill and discernment had, for so many years, been employed in the direction of political affairs. He might indeed, like the helm, have guided safely the tempest-tossed vessel in the late rebellion, during which, it may even be believed that the saving hand of a Gloucester would have been welcome!

At such a time as this, the return of the Duke of Somerset was considered fortunate, and we are told that the royal pair "hailed his arrival as a blessing." Somerset was indeed the nearest relative of the King; and at this moment, when the court was beginning to be distracted by the pretensions of the Duke of York, it was hoped that the services and attachment of one whose interests were allied to those of the

crown, would successfully oppose the ambitious projects of that nobleman. By some historians, Somerset has been considered as the only faithful minister of Henry VI., who, by his care, watchfulness, and good counsels, sought to deliver the kingdom from factions, and preserve peace. The Duke of York, therefore, justly anticipated the opposition he would raise to his projects, and determined to excite against him the hatred of the people and the envy of the nobility.

Certain it is, that the presence of Somerset was attended with new troubles to the Queen. The people immediately raised clamours against the Duke; they accused him of not having done his duty in Normandy, and blamed him for the loss of that province, but especially for his conduct at the siege of Caen. The Commons, adopting these complaints, presented a petition to the King, praying that the conduct of Somerset might be investigated, and that, in the meantime, he should be sent to the Tower. Their request was granted, for Henry was unwilling to offend the House of Commons.* Upon receiving the news of the imprisonment of the Duke, the populace evinced such transports of delight that they immediately attacked and plundered his palace; and in spite of the exertions of the King's officers, they created such a tumult as could not be appeased until one of the ringleaders had been despatched. 1451. Paston Letters.

At the breaking up of Parliament the Duke was liberated, and placed in the same situation at court as the Duke of Suffolk had occupied. He was created Prime Minister, and the Queen showed him great

* This arrest of Somerset appears, according to some authors, to have been by the advice of the lords of the King's council, for the safety of his person, and to prevent his falling into the hands of his adversary; besides, that the power of the Lancastrian party was sufficiently strong to prevent his being brought to trial. His imprisonment was only for fourteen months. *Paston Letters; Rapin; Lingard; Villaret; Daniel.*

favour, by which, it would appear, that she did not censure his conduct; yet we are assured, by some writers, that the Duke of Somerset justly deserved the reproaches of his country for his treachery and cowardice.*

1451. Holinshed; Villaret; Rapin; Barante.

The surprising success of the French in the recovery of Normandy, prompted them to carry their arms into Guienne. This province being much farther off than the former, it was not in the power of the English to afford it a better defence, had they even desired to do so; but it does not appear that they had the intention of preserving this country. No army was dismissed to the relief of the cities, which, one by one, surrendered after making a faint resistance. Thus King Charles became possessed of Bergerac, Geusac, Montserrand, Chalais, St. Fois, and other cities; and the conquests of the French continued uninterruptedly until they obtained possession of the whole of this province, excepting only Bayonne and Bourdeaux.

This last entered into treaty with the enemy, and engaged to submit to King Charles should they not be supported by succours from England before the 24th of October. At the expiration of that period no army appeared, and this city, as well as all the other towns in the duchy, were forced to open their gates to the French.

The city of Bayonne, only, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French King, and to be included in the treaty. An army was dismissed against it under the command of the Count Dunois, who, obliging them to capitulate, ended the war in that province where the English had preserved their authority since the time of Henry the Second, a period of three hundred years.†

* Pol. Vergil; Paston Letters; Villaret; Baudier; Daniel.

† Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Barante; Anquetil; Monstrelet.

No sooner were the foreign wars over than the intestine divisions were renewed. The cession of Maine and Anjou had rendered the people of England suspicious of treachery; and when Normandy and Guienne surrendered to the victorious arms of King Charles, this nation bitterly complained of the government, and of those whom they judged had had any share in these misfortunes.

The practice about this period was adopted of writing satirical verses on those individuals who, by their political conduct, had become obnoxious to the people. Some of these verses, written in April, 1451, were intended for William Boothe, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, or Chester, as the diocese was generally called; on account of his taking part with the Duke of Suffolk in the King's Council. The petition of the Commons was, that Boothe and several others might be removed from the royal presence for the rest of their lives. They were charged with "misbehaving about His Majesty's person," and elsewhere, leading to neglect of law and non-observance of the peace of the realm.*

The King only complied by banishing some of these for one year. The offence of the Bishop was soon overlooked, for in the following year, 1452, he was translated to the see of York.

Reflections were made in some of the verses alluded to, on the character of Boothe, and he was charged with procuring his advancement, not by his knowledge and talents, but by simony, usury, and the influence of his family. The writer adds, "by simoni and usur bild is thy *bothe*," and in another place, "breke up thy *bothe*." These and similar puns were the taste of the age. In addressing Boothe the writer speaks of the

* See Appendix, p. 428.

fall of Rome, and warns him that a similar fate awaited England if the existing abuses were not removed; he cites the proverb, that "The voice of the people is the voice of God." Allusion is also made to De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and the following pun made upon his name:—

"The *pool* is so perilous for men to pass
"That few of the *bank* royal can escape."*

The nobility, while they reproached one another, all united in blaming the Duke of Suffolk as the author of their troubles. Queen Margaret was regarded as a foreigner, and an enemy; and her father and relatives being engaged in advancing the interests of the French, it was not expected that the Queen would very strenuously oppose such measures as were favourable to them in the Council-chamber, where she held the most unlimited sway.†

It was not surprising that such an opinion should have gained credit amongst the people, (who were already blinded by their prejudices against the Queen,) when we remember that the House of Anjou, and especially one member of that House, the Count of Maine, (who was uncle to Queen Margaret,) was always in such high favour with King Charles. René also had accompanied this prince to the siege of Rouen, and was present at the taking of other cities.‡ It is certain that the observance of a neutrality on the part of these princes would have been of the utmost service to Queen Margaret.

Such indeed was the disaffection of the people towards the Queen's government, that she found herself unable to adopt any measures against the Duke of York, whose popularity increased. Doubtless the

* Bentley's Excerpt. Hist.; Rot. Parl.
† Hume.
‡ Barante; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

people would have supported this Duke in any new enterprise, and that he meditated some attempt against the throne began to be apparent.*

It was privately whispered, at this time, that King Henry was of weak capacity, and easily abused; that Queen Margaret was ambitious and malignant; that the Council did not seek the public good, but their own; and that, through these causes, France was lost: finally, that God would not bless the possessions of the usurper, Henry VI.

There seems to have been little doubt that the late rebellion had been commenced through the instigation of the Duke of York, whose object was to ascertain the disposition of the people towards the House of March; but the death of the leader had prevented the evidence being adduced which would have determined the truth of this opinion.†

Great alarm began to prevail at court, as to the projects of the Duke of York. He was suspected of a design to bring over some Irish troops, doubtless with rebellious intent; and orders were therefore despatched to the sheriffs of Wales, Shropshire, and Cheshire, to prevent the landing of the Duke upon the coast; and should he succeed in doing so, they were commanded to refuse him lodging and entertainment.‡ This precaution was not only unnecessary, but ill judged, as it betrayed to the people that the court stood in awe of the Duke, and this, as leading them to enquire the cause, would have been best concealed; it also served as a caution to the Duke to be on his guard, and gave him a pretence to complain of suspicions which, for the present at least, were, or

* Baker; Rapin.

† Leland; Hume; Hist. of Shrewsbury.

‡ These instructions were particularly insisted on at Chester and Shrewsbury.

seemed to be, altogether without foundation.* Queen Margaret appears also, in this procedure, to have adopted a course widely different from her former conduct, for she had even anticipated the designs of the Duke, and had begun openly to oppose them. Had she concealed her suspicions, she might have betrayed him into some snare, or false step, which would have been his ruin, or justified her measures against him.†

Previous to the Duke of York's return from Ireland, he had opened his views to his friends in a letter from Dublin, in June 1450, addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, whose sister he had married. He began by complaining of the deficiency of supplies from England, owing to which he could not resist the rebels. He continues, "my power cannot stretch to keep it in the "King's obeisance, and verie necessity will compell me "to come into England, to live there, upon my poor "livelihood. For I had leave be dead than any in-"convenience should fall thereunto by my default," &c. &c.

The Duke's intimation of leaving his command without orders justly excited the displeasure of the court, and caused alarm amongst the ministers. They consequently determined to seize his person and prevent his approach to King Henry.‡

The conduct of the Duke, however, proved these suspicions to be erroneous. He embarked for England with only his own domestics, and, conscious that his enemies had no proof to bring against him of a treasonable nature, he boldly attempted to land on the coast of Wales; but finding an armed force at Beaumaris, headed by Lord de Lyle, ready to oppose him, he was compelled to proceed to another port, where

* Hume; Leland.

† Rapin.

‡ Hist. of Shrewsbury.

he was more successful.* We are told that one of the motives for this hasty return of the Duke from Ireland was, that he feared, on hearing of the loss of Caen, that he should be deprived of his large estates in that island, which he inherited through the Mortimers from the Lacys and De Burghs, which caused him to resolve, on his immediate return to England, to attack the ministers, and endeavour to place himself at the head of the government.

While the Duke was passing through Northamptonshire, in his way to London, he sent for William Tresham, a lawyer, and the late Speaker of the House of Commons, who had been very zealous in the prosecution of the Duke of Suffolk. Scarcely had Tresham left his own house at Multon Park, near Northampton, when he was intercepted and murdered by a band of ruffians, 160 in number, armed with swords and spears, belonging to Lord Grey of Ruthyn; but how far this nobleman sanctioned the act of his servants is not known. It is probable that the life of Tresham was taken in revenge for his late conduct in procuring the death of Suffolk; and if not from private pique, it must have been caused by the public animosity. It may at least be called a sign of the lawlessness of that period. The Duke proceeded on his way, and the murderers of Tresham were outlawed.†

The friends of the Duke were numerous, and they had had frequent conferences together; but, being unable to resolve upon any step without his assistance, they had been anxiously expecting him. When the Duke of York arrived in the capital they assembled around him; and as they must, from their wealth and influence in the kingdom, have appeared a most formidable faction in the eyes of a young and inexperienced

* W. of Worcester; Leland; Rapin; Henry.
† Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

Queen, who had been, from various circumstances, deprived of almost all good counsel, and who unhappily had lost the best inheritance of a sovereign—the love of her people—it will not be amiss to introduce the reader to a personal acquaintance with the House of York, its alliances, and its friendships.

Richard, Duke of York derived his claim to the crown from his mother, (a descendant of the House of Mortimer) who had married the Earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the preceding reign; he held, in right of his father, the rank of first prince of the blood, which conferred a lustre on his title derived from his mother; for the family of Mortimer, although of high descent, was equalled by others in the kingdom.* Being the representative of three distinct successions, viz., those of Cambridge, York, and Mortimer, the present Duke became the inheritor of immense possessions. To these were also united the estates of Clarence and Ulster, and the patrimonial property of the House of March.†

The Duke had obtained considerable influence amongst the chief nobility by his marriage with Cecilia, the daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, whose family was perhaps the most powerful ever known in England. The individuals who composed that family, although extremely wealthy, were not so much distinguished by their opulence as by their peculiar characters and intrinsic merits.

Of this "noble, ancient, and spreading family" of the Earl of Westmoreland were the Bishop of Durham, the Lords Onsley, Latimer, Fauconbridge, and Abergavenny, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick. The two last were amongst the most distinguished of the English nobility.

The Earl of Salisbury was the eldest son of Ralph

* Baker; Hume. † Milles's Catalogue.

Neville by his second marriage, and obtained his title and estates by his union with the daughter of Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who died at Orleans. Richard de Beauchamp, son of the Earl of Salisbury, also obtained the title and inheritance of another ancient and distinguished family, no less wealthy and powerful than the former, by his marriage with the daughter* of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died while Governor of France. Thus, the Earl of Westmoreland, his son, and his grandson, were eminently distinguished by the gifts of fortune, but even still more remains to be said of their personal merits.†

Besides this family the Duke of York had many other adherents. Of these the chief were Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, (whose hereditary animosity towards the House of Lancaster had induced him to attach himself to the interests of York,) Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, (son-in-law of the Duke of Somerset,) and Edward Brooke, Baron of Cobham.‡

Such a powerful combination amongst the principal nobility could not but be formidable when the dissatisfaction of the people was so general.

At the time of the Duke of York's return from Ireland the court was absent from the metropolis, upon a progress in the western counties of England. The King visited his castle of Kenilworth, and the city of Coventry. He was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, "who came by command of his sovereign, with a "strong guard; also he attended about the King's "person with great costs and expenses."§ 1451. Rapin; Holinshed

The rebellion of Cade had satisfied the mind of the

* This lady was sister of Henry, Earl of Warwick (after his father), and the favourite of King Henry.

† Holinshed; Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Barante; Hume; Lingard.

‡ Holinshed; Rapin; Hume; Lingard.

§ Rapin; Issue Roll.

Duke as to the support he would be likely to obtain from the people; for, if such vast numbers were disposed to support the pretensions of one who had such slight claims to their notice, what might not be expected when the true heir of the House of March should step forward to demand their support?* The general discontent at the Queen's conduct, and that of her ministers, also warranted his hopes, and encouraged him in the first steps of his ambitious career.

This nobleman held a consultation with his friends and adherents, with whom it was determined that the Duke should retire into Wales, where he had many partisans, and there secretly secure an army to support his pretensions.†

1451. Rapin; Holinshed. The Duke lost no time in executing his designs. When he had raised an army of 10,000 men in Wales, he addressed, from his castle of Ludlow, a monitory letter to the King, previously to his taking any steps which might be construed into rebellion. He therein complained, that during his stay in Ireland, he had been calumniated to the King; and that certain persons, set as spies, had been lying in wait in six several places to seize him, with intent to convey him to Conway Castle. Also, that his landing in England had been opposed by the King's officers; and that letters had been despatched to Chester, Shrewsbury, and other places, to prevent his reception. He also complained of the malicious attempts of certain persons to indict him for treason, to his great injury, and that of his family; and "for all this, he required, that justice should be done him." The Duke also complained of the general disaffection to the ministry, and especially

* Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry.

† Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Lingard.

towards the Duke of Somerset, whose conduct, he prayed, might be inquired into, and satisfaction afforded to the nation. He offered his assistance in the execution of this purpose; and further complained, of Somerset's restoration to favour without being subjected to any examination.*

It was evident to the ministers that the Duke of York sought to quarrel with them; but, in the present position of affairs, they dared not show him any resentment. King Henry, in his reply to the Duke's letter, alluded to the fact of the Duke having unlawfully slain the Bishop of Chester, as one of the causes of the frequent complaints against him; also, that the rumours of the ambitious sayings of the Duke had led the court, although uncertain of their truth, to act on the defensive, by placing troops to oppose his landing; but that the manner of the Duke's appearing, being unarmed, had sufficiently evinced his loyalty; and that his reception by the King would have been different had not the suddenness of his coming, without previous notice, occasioned the servants of the crown to act on their former orders. The King wrote also to this effect, viz., that he had some time since resolved to reform the government; and that for this purpose he intended to appoint certain counsellors of talent and virtue, amongst whom the Duke should be included; that it required some deliberation before he could bring to justice the traitors, of whom the Duke had complained; but that he would not permit them to go unpunished, not even the Duke of Somerset.†

This moderate reply, which was altogether unexpected by the Duke of York, took from him every pretence for rebellion; yet he resolved that the King's refusal to punish the ministers immediately should

* Hall; Fabian; Rapin; Hume; Phillips's Shrewsbury.
† Holinshed.

furnish him with a pretext for employing an army already prepared; and that he would not be turned from his purpose by a moderation which might be real, or designed to deceive him.*

Thus it was that ambition stifled the dictates of reason, and led on to civil warfare.

The Duke of York marched at the head of his new army towards London; but he had not proceeded far before he learnt that the royal forces were prepared to oppose him.

The Queen, who had anticipated his design, had been more active than he expected. She had raised, in the King's name, a body of troops, but without informing them for what purpose; and thus, while the Duke had retired into Wales, she had been engaged in preparing an army to advance against him.†

It was not the Duke's object to risk a battle yet, without a better pretence to win the people to his side, and to justify his rebellion. He well knew also that the citizens of London were of themselves sufficiently powerful to incline the balance in favour of either party, and therefore he resolved to gain that city over to his interests. On a sudden, therefore, he altered his course on hearing of the King's approach, although he was not deficient in courage, or in experience.‡ He endeavoured, by a rapid march, to get before the King, and expected on reaching the capital to be well received there; but, to his great disappointment, he found the gates shut, the citizens being unwilling to declare for him, while their King was so near at hand, with a much larger army. The Duke of York was therefore obliged to cross the Thames, at Kingston. He encamped at Brent Heath, near Dartford, twelve miles from London, whither the King followed him,

* Rapin; Pol. Vergil.

† Baker.

‡ Rapin.

and pitched his camp at a distance of four miles from the insurgents. An engagement seemed inevitable; but the King dismissed the Bishops of Winchester and Ely to demand the reason of the Duke of York taking up arms; and the latter finding it expedient, at this juncture, to make his peace at court, for fear of ruining his affairs by precipitation, alleged that it had never been his intention to desert his sovereign; but that he only desired to remove from the Council certain evil-disposed persons, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the chief; and that he was willing to disband his troops, if the King would consent to the imprisonment of Somerset, so long as Parliament should decree.

King Henry's compliance with this request occasioned no less surprise to the Duke than he had before felt at his moderation, in the answer to his letter. He knew that both the King and Queen were guided by the advice of Somerset, whose interest it was to reject these demands; and for whose sake (as York wished it to appear) the ministers did not hesitate to involve the country in a civil war. The King not only engaged to comply with the Duke's request, but immediately caused the Duke of Somerset to be apprehended. Then would York gladly have retracted his word; but he was thus compelled to disband his forces, which he preferred doing to the risk of losing the favour of the people.*

Upon this the Duke boldly appeared in court, without taking any precautions for his own safety; nay, he even ventured, in the presence of the King, to accuse the Duke of Somerset, with much vehemence, of having sacrificed the interests of his country to his own ambitious and sordid views. At this moment, whilst he was boldly proclaiming his enemy to be a traitor,

* Sandford; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Daniel; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Birch's Illus. Persons of Great Britain.

what was his astonishment when Somerset presented himself before him, having been concealed behind the hangings of the tent, and he, on his part, accused the Duke of York of a conspiracy to dethrone his sovereign?

Greatly was the Duke of York dismayed at the sudden and unexpected rencontre, yet, perceiving the danger of his own situation, he did not lose his presence of mind; he moderately complained of the want of faith shown to him, and threw the odium of this treachery upon the Duke of Somerset. Yet he was no sooner dismissed the presence than he was apprehended by the orders of King Henry; who then proceeded to London, the Duke of York, as his prisoner, riding before him.*

Thus betrayed into the power of his enemies, the Duke of York would most probably never have escaped the effects of their resentment had they dared to proceed against him, but they feared the opposition and hatred of the people, which had already often been manifested, and they knew the Duke was too popular to be unrevenged. Two other reasons also contributed to preserve him; first, a report that the Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York, was advancing at the head of a powerful army to effect his release, and it seemed probable that the troops lately disbanded would unite with them. In addition to this, the deputies of Guienne had sought succours of the King, promising to reduce that province to his authority. The forces, however, designed by King Henry for this war must necessarily be employed at home, in the event of such a civil contest as was likely to result upon the punishment of the Duke of York, and thus would a fair opportunity be lost for the recovery of Guienne.

* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; Daniel; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry.

A treaty of peace had been lately signed between 1451.
England and Scotland, to which both kingdoms had been inclined, through the rebellions of the Douglas family in the latter, besides the agitated state of the Borderers, and the dissensions amongst the English people. The ambassadors of the two kings met in the church of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle, on the 14th of August, 1451, when the peace was concluded.*

Queen Margaret, alarmed at the report of the approach of the Earl of March towards London, in her anxiety to secure friends, visited Norwich and other places, accompanied by Edmund of Hadham, and Jasper of Hatfield, the King's half-brothers. The Queen's familiarity and obliging address pleased the gentry, and indeed she well knew how to conciliate the affections of those whom she wished to gain over to her interests. We are told that the people of Norwich advanced 100 marks as a loan to their King, and the aldermen presented the Queen with 60 marks, to which the Commons added 40 more, and in return obtained a general pardon for past offences, and the grant of a new charter, on paying a fine of 20 marks.†

The King, being disturbed at this period by the claims of the Duke of York, prudently sought, by all possible means, to strengthen himself against him, and to this end he created his two half-brothers, Edmund, 1452.
Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke. These were sons of Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine, Queen Dowager of England, the King's mother. After her death, Owen lost that respect which had been shown him, and he was twice com-

* Mackenzie's Newcastle.

† They also advanced to the Queen the whole fee farm of the city for the last year, being £129 11s. 4d. This charter, dated the 17th of March, at Westminster, was consented to in full parliament.—*Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Stow; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Parkin's Norwich.*

mitted to prison, from which he escaped. When his sons had such high honours conferred upon them, the Welshmen were flattered by the promotion of their young countrymen, and continued ever after to adhere faithfully to the House of Lancaster. The next year (1453) King Henry knighted his two brothers.*

The Queen's stay at Norwich was but short, only two days; while there (as we learn from the letter of Margaret Paston) "she sent for Elizabeth Clere, by "Sharinborn, to come to her, and she dared not dis- "obey her commandment, and came to her; and when "she came into the Queen's presence, the Queen made "right much of her, and desired her to have a hus- "band; and the Queen was right well pleased with "her answer, and reporteth of her in the best wise, "and saith, by her truth, she saw no gentlewoman, "since she came into Norfolk, that she liked better "than she doth her."† The cousin of Elizabeth, no doubt, felt some satisfaction herself while she thus narrated the interview with royalty.

This was by no means a solitary instance of the Queen's address and condescension. Like the troubadour king, her father, she had a tinge of romance in her character, and a genuine flow of feeling and sympathy for the unfortunate, which, ever and anon, was elicited by circumstances such as made her acquainted with the wants of others, and their need of her royal influence. This she exerted for the benefit of her personal attendants and others, without reserve. All those who were in interesting positions of difficulty or distress, needing a friend to help them, found that friend in their gifted sovereign. When her personal eloquence was not available, her pen was often employed to persuade, to urge, and to excite

* Stow; Pennant's Wales. † Paston Letters.

those whom she addressed; to overcome their obstacles, and to consent to the happiness of their relatives. Her arguments, however, too often proved unavailing; a matter of no great surprise when we consider that many of these letters, (which, through party animosity, were consigned to oblivion for a period of 400 years,) were written during the first ten years after her marriage; that unhappy period, when the clouds gathered around her, when she became unpopular, and the national discontents were followed by the loss of her ministers, and open rebellion. It was during a succession of terrible events, which might have appalled any but a lion-hearted queen, like Margaret of Anjou, (between the year 1445, when, as one of the brilliant flowers of France, she came to England in all her pride and beauty, and the year 1455, the date of the first battle of St. Albans, two remarkable epochs, much contrasted with each other;) that these interesting letters were written.

The pleasing condescensions of this queen were, during this period, frequently elicited. It is agreeable to find this new and charming phase in her character, and should especially be dwelt upon at this, the commencement of her eventful career. Her tastes resembled those of her father. She exhibited great fondness for poetry and music; nay, she even inclined to the gentle arts. Her courage and heroism were blended with gentleness and sympathy for the unfortunate, especially in affairs of the heart. These letters of the Queen are proof of this; and it is to be regretted that in the absence of this testimony afforded by her correspondence, historians have been so apt to dwell on the belligerent

* These letters were discovered in 1860 at Emral, in Flintshire; they had been transcribed, in the same century that they were written, by one John Edwards, of Kirkland. A daughter of this family married into that of Puliston, of Emral, where the MS. volume of letters, seventy-five in number, was found.—*Letters of Queen Margaret, edited by Cecil Monro.*

character which Queen Margaret was compelled to assume in the subsequent Wars of the Roses. Thus has the character of this Queen been traduced, and her excellent qualities ignored; even as in natural objects it sometimes happens that the darkest shades are permitted to become most prominent.

Queen Margaret, although conspicuous for the beauty of her person, and the richness of her attire, sought by higher influences than these to gain the attachment of those more immediately around her. She especially invited the young ladies to visit her; put to them questions about their lovers, and professed herself gratified by their answers. Never was the course of true love obstructed but Queen Margaret aroused her energies to remove the cause, and set all right again; and this, whenever she perceived that any member of her household, or their friends, required her support to further their suit. Most earnestly and pleasingly did the Queen act as mediatrix, and plead for the lovers.

One of her letters, written when Suffolk was chief minister, was addressed to Robert Kent, supposed to have been a "spiritual lawyer." She pleads for one of her attendants thus:—

"By the Quene.

"Welbeloved, we grete, &c., and late you wite "that our welbeloved servant, Thomas Shelford, whom "for his vertues, and the agreable service that he "hath don unto us herbefore, and in especial now late "in the company of our cousin of Suffolk, we have "taken into oure chambre, there to serve us abowte "our personne, hath reported unto us, that for the "good and vertuous demening that he hath herd of a "gentil woman beyng in your governance, which was "doghter to oon, Hall of Larkfeld, he desireth full "hertly to do hir worship by wey of marriage, as he

" seith; wherfor, we desire and praye you hertly, that, " setting apart all instances or labours, that have or " shalbe made unto you for eny other personne what " so ever he be, ye wol by all honest and leaful menes " be welwilled unto the said marriage, entreting the " said gentilwoman unto the same, trustyng to Godd's " mercye that it shalbe both for His worship, and " availle in tyme to come. And if ye wol doo yor " tendre diligence to perfourme this oure desire, ye " shal therin deserve of us right good and especial " thanke, and cause us to showe unto you therefore " the more especial faver of oure good grace in tyme " to come."

"Gêven," &c.

It is worthy of remark, that Thomas Shelford, the wooer, had never seen the lady, but had fallen in love with her on hearsay of her virtues.

On another occasion, Queen Margaret requests of the executors of Cardinal Beaufort, to assist "one Frutes and Agnes Knoghton, poor creatures, and of virtuous conversation, purposing to live under the law of God, in the order of wedlock," that they may be helped forward by means of the alms at the disposal of these executors, "in their laudable intention."

This letter was written soon after the death of the Cardinal, in 1447, who left by his will the residue of his goods not disposed of, to be used for charitable works, according to the discretion of the executors, for the relief of poor religious houses,—"for marrying poor maidens, and for the help of the poor and needy; and in such works of piety," he adds, "as they deem will most tend to the health of his soul." The Queen, in her letter, alludes to the last words of this clause, and, on several occasions, applies to the same fund for the relief of the indigent, in furtherance of the intentions of her uncle, the Cardinal.

The influence of Queen Margaret was also exercised in favour of one, Thomas Burneby, "sewer for our mouth," who would fain unite himself to Jane, the well-endowed widow of Sir Nicholas Carew, the lady having seventeen manors in her own right, a circumstance not overlooked by the suitor when he induced his royal mistress to write for him. The Queen tells her, but in vain, that Burneby loves her "for the womanly and "virtuous governance that ye be renowned of," speaks of his merits, and hopes that "at reverence of us the "lady will be inclyning to his honest desire at this "time."* The widow lady of thirty-six gave no heed to the pleading of her youthful mistress, but married Sir Robert Vere, brother of John, the twelfth Earl of Oxford.†

At another time, Queen Margaret writes urging a father to persuade his daughter to consent to the suit of Thomas Fountaine, yeoman of the crown. Elizabeth Gascarick could not be prevailed upon to regard most kindly the trusty yeoman, although the Queen warrants his virtues and fidelity to both the King and herself, and pleads his love and zeal for his fair lady. The Queen then writes to William Gascarick, the father, to whom she says, "We pray right affectuously that, "at reverence of us, since your daughter is in your "rule and governance, as reason is, you will give your "good consent, benevolence and friendship to induce "and to excite your daughter to accept my said lord's "servant and ours, to her husband, to the good con-

* This letter of the Queen was written from Eltham between 1447 and 1450. Burneby, the favoured "sewer of the mouth," was a legatee under the will of Cardinal Beaufort. He steadily adhered to the Lancastrians, and accompanied the Queen in her flight to Scotland, in 1461.

† Her son by Sir Robert Vere became subsequently the fifteenth Earl of Oxford. This lady became a second time a widow, and dwelt in the manor of Haccombe, with right to do according to her pleasure, except that, while she was permitted to enjoy the fruit, she was restricted from making "any cyder thereof."

" clusion, and tender exploit of the said marriage, as " our full trust is in you."

Quite useless, however, was the pleading of both queen and father; neither of them had any influence over this lady, who is said to have married Henry Booth, of Lincolnshire.

The prayers of the Queen were much disregarded by all those to whom she addressed them.

One of these royal letters was directed to Edith Bonham, the Abbess of Shaftesbury, respecting the promotion of her chaplain, Michael Tergory. Margaret doubtless esteemed him highly; his merits having been, indeed, well attested. After having studied at several of the colleges at Oxford, he had been one of the earliest rectors of the University of Caen, founded by Henry VI., in 1431. He was Archdeacon of Barnstaple, in the diocese of Exeter, in 1445, and then became the Queen's Chaplain. Very earnestly did Queen Margaret write in his favour from her residence at Pleshy, on the 11th of March, in 1447, the time when the Bishopric of Lisieux was vacant. To this see the King, as well as the Queen, sought to promote him; and it is said King Henry entertained a special respect for him; but fruitless were the recommendations of Michael Tergory, for Thomas Basin succeeded to the vacant see of Lisieux.*

The same ill success attended the application of the Queen to the Master of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, with whom she pleads for the admission into the leper-house, of a young chorister "named Robert Uphome, "aged only seventeen years, late chorister unto the

* The chaplain became, at length, Archbishop of Dublin, and died in 1471. He was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Michael Tergory was called, by Anthony Wood "the ornament of the university." Another author says of him, that he was a man of great wisdom and learning.

"most reverende fadre in God our beal uncle the "Cardinal, (whom God assoile,) at his college at Win- "chester, who is now by Godd's visitation become "lepour."

Margaret was not, however, to be deterred from her good intentions, or her willingness to be of use to any one, even to Lory, our cordwainer, who being fully employed in fitting her Majesty, and other fair ladies, her subjects, with shoes, the Queen writes to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and prays, that, "at such "tymes as we shall have nede of his crafte, and send "for hym, that he may not appere, and attend in "enquests, (*jurys,*) in the Cite of London, that he "may not be empannelled, but therein sparing hym at "reverence of us," &c., &c.* This prayer was probably unheeded also.

The testimony of the Queen was even given to the "famous and clean living of her clerks," in the hope of gaining preferment for them, which she urgently besought of some persons, who, had they been willing, could have granted her request. Nay, she could not, without difficulty, obtain for a lay servant even a poor servile appointment. All this disloyalty and indifference to the Queen's authority exhibit the aspect of the times, and betoken a season approaching of conflicts and rebellion.

In the correspondence of Queen Margaret no mention is made of her personal trials nor her difficulties. Her letters† are not on affairs of state, nor at all political. In some of them she speaks of the money owing to her; also of her wishes to be exempted from the dues of the customs on her imported finery; while in

* This letter was written soon after the Queen's marriage. The cordwainers had only lately been incorporated.

† Many of the Queen's letters were dated from Windsor, and from Pleshy, a few rom Eltham. The dates of the remainder have not been preserved.

others she writes about her parks, the care of her deer, and of her bloodhounds.

One of these was addressed to the "Parker of Ware," and from this letter it would appear that when it was written the Queen was on terms of friendship with the Earl of Salisbury,* and that the condescension was mutual. This earl, although favouring in secret the Duke of York, did not openly espouse his cause until the year 1455. It was probably soon after the marriage of Margaret, and the assignment of her dower, (in which the castle of Hertford was included,) that she wrote as follows :—

"By the Queen,

"Wel beloved, for as much as we knowe "verrily that oure cousin, therl of Salisbury, wol be "right well content and pleased that, at our resorting "unto our castell of Hertford, we take our disporte "and recreation in his parke of Ware; we-embolding "us therof, desire and pray you that the game there "be spared, kepte and cherished for the same entent, "without suffering eny other personne there to hunte, "or have shet (*shot or shooting*) cource, or other "disporte, in destroing or amentissment (*diminution*) "of the game above-said, until (such) tyme (as) ye "have other commandment from our said cousin in "that behalf. As we trust you," &c.†

The number of Queen Margaret's letters dated from Pleshy, in Essex (which castle formed part of her dower, with the manor belonging thereto), leads to the conjecture that this was a favourite residence to which the Queen resorted for seclusion.‡

* The father of the Earl of Warwick.

† Letters of Queen Margaret, edited by Cecil Monro.

‡ Pleshy was formerly called "Castell de Placeto," and was the abode for centuries of the lords high constables of England. The village, eight miles from Chelmsford, is now only distinguished by its ancient castle. There is, however, one space of ground, on which are some fine trees

1452. Holinshed. A Council was called to meet at Westminster,* for the purpose of hearing the accusations of the two Dukes, who mutually charged each other with many crimes and offences. Somerset, strongly suspecting the part which Richard, Duke of York, shortly after adopted, earnestly entreated the ministers to compel his adversary to acknowledge his purpose; and, after having thus convicted him of treason, to execute justice on him, and on his children; intending by the destruction of the Duke, and his heirs, to suppress rebellion amongst the people, and to restore peace to the kingdom. The certainty that York not only aimed at his own life, but also at that of the king, and that he aspired to the crown, caused Somerset to become vehement in his solicitations, and he even prayed that God would not permit this enemy of his king and country long to escape the hand of justice.†

Had the advice of Somerset been followed, the Duke of York would have been tried and executed; but the merciful Henry shrunk from the idea of shedding the blood of a cousin: his own word had been pledged for his safety, also the public faith was engaged; and the Duke's death at this time would have seemed rather the gratification of the revenge of Somerset than effected to secure the peace of the country.‡ Many things were in the Duke's favour, and seemed to set forth his innocence; of these were, first, his coming voluntarily to the King, unsupported by his followers; and, secondly, his humble submission, and reasonable demands for himself and for the people; which argued that he did not aspire to the crown.

situated between the rampart, called "the mounds," and the church, which still retains the name of "the Queen's garden."

* This council was adjourned from Westminster to Reading, on account of the plague.

† Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Mag. Britannica.

‡ Sandford; Lingard.

After deliberating on these points, Queen Margaret and her ministers determined to release the Duke, although the private interests of the House of Lancaster demanded the sacrifice of his life; indeed it is not improbable that the subsequent misfortunes incidental to this reign might have been prevented, had this nobleman been punished for his first revolt. * To secure themselves as much as possible from any future designs on the part of the Duke of York, the Queen and her Council compelled him to take an oath "never again to appear in arms against his sovereign, but to be his faithful and obedient subject throughout life." This oath was taken in St. Paul's Cathedral, in the presence of the King, the Bishop of Winchester, and most of the nobility; it was also taken at Westminster, Coventry, and other places. After all this, the Duke was liberated, and retired to his castle of Wigmore.†

Somerset, now without a rival, continued in high favour at court.‡

1452. Rapin; Paston Letters.

At this time it was resolved to make an effort for the recovery of Guienne. The people of this province had only submitted to the King of France because the English had neglected to send them relief; and, as they yielded so unwillingly, it was not surprising that they should endeavour to free themselves from the yoke. The French army had no sooner quitted that province, than the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, with the principal lords of Guienne, determined to revolt to their former governors, provided that they would assist them; and they dismissed some ambassadors to London to represent their case.

This seemed a flattering prospect to the English for

* Rapin.

† Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Lond. Chron.; Lingard; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Birch's Illust. Persons of Great Britain.

‡ Pol. Vergil.

regaining their lost authority; and the Queen and the ministers still hoped to retrieve their credit with the people by the success of this enterprise.

Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, (one of England's most courageous generals,) was dismissed to France, with an army of 7,000 men, to reconquer this province. This general, although about eighty years of age, engaged with the utmost alacrity in this expedition, for his country's honour. He speedily embarked with his troops, having assurances of further supplies to be sent after him; and, on his arrival on the Continent, lost no time in prosecuting the war. The day after he landed he entered the city of Bourdeaux, one of the gates being opened to him by the citizens who commanded it; and so unexpected was this blow to the French garrisons, that they could not even effect their escape. The Earl of Shrewsbury quickly regained several of the towns of Guienne; but the approach of winter put a stop to his conquests at a time when he was in a fair way for recovering the whole of this province.

1453. Rapin; Holinshed; Lingard; Hume; Pennant.

The following spring, the King of France, (who had been engaged in punishing an offence offered him by the Dauphin,) sent two of his generals, with an army of 10,000 men, to oppose the English. The Earl of Clermont followed with the rest of the French troops. Chaloin and Chastillon were besieged, and vigorously defended by their garrisons. The French, through fear of the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose long experience and courage they well knew, adopted some expedients to which they seldom had recourse.

Lord Talbot considering that should the Earl of Clermont unite his forces with those of the generals who preceded him, their numbers would so far exceed his own that a defeat would be inevitable, determined to prevent this by a bold attack. He drew out all his army, and leaving Bourdeaux, presented himself before

the enemy's camp. Here he fell upon them with a force and energy which had only been witnessed upon the field of Agincourt, or in similar battles. At first, the French were repulsed and driven to their camp, when, the English pressing on to complete their victory, they were attacked in their rear and compelled to halt by a troop of the enemy's horse; this gave the French an opportunity to recover themselves, and turned the fate of the battle.

The brave Lord Talbot was wounded in the thigh, and his horse killed under him. Turning to his son who fought by his side, this nobleman exclaimed,—"Leave me, my son, our enemies have gained the day; there be no shame to you in flying, for it is thy first battle;" but the young man thought not of any future services he might render to his country, and disdained an ignoble flight, preferring to lose his life along with his respected parent, and he was soon after slain. Lord Talbot was so disfigured by his wounds that his body, when borne from the field of battle, could not be recognised, and even an English herald, who came to seek him, hesitated on being shown the corpse; but at last he identified him by putting his finger in his mouth, and ascertaining by the deficiency of a tooth; then, indeed, the faithful servant yielded to an excess of grief. Upon the death of their general, the English were overpowered by numbers, and completely routed. They are said to have lost 2,000 men; but the death of the noble veteran, whose valour and skill supported their hope, was much more deplored. Lord Talbot had been twenty years in the King's service abroad, and had been rewarded by many signal honours. He was buried at Rouen, but his remains were afterwards removed to Whitchurch in Shropshire.

To complete the successes of the French, the Earl

of Clermont arrived after the battle. Bourdeaux and all the other English cities were successively besieged, and surrendered, until the whole province fell again into the hands of King Charles, and the English were driven out, never again to return.

The unfortunate termination of this war took from the English every hope of the recovery of Guienne. Calais and Guisnes now only remained in their possession of all that fair portion of France which they had once held.*

1453. In this year, 1453, King Henry, who was always a weak monarch, and unable to hold the reins of government, fell dangerously ill. His disease, (which possibly he inherited from his maternal grandfather, Charles VI. of France,) was a severe malady of the brain, attended with total aberration of reason. So much was the natural imbecility of King Henry increased, that he could not even preserve the semblance of his royal dignity. He was so much afflicted that he appeared to be deranged, and was conveyed by the Queen, by slow degrees, from Clarendon, where he was staying, to Westminster.

The distressing condition of this monarch occasioned the prorogation of Parliament, and the Duke of York was recalled into the Cabinet.† Henry's acute sensibility and tendency to fever of the brain, had been too much disturbed and excited by the turmoil of the late public events; and under the difficulties he had had to contend with, his mental and bodily powers alike gave way, and left but little hope of his recovery.

The situation of Queen Margaret at this time, when she was expecting to become a mother, must have

* Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Lond. Chron; Speed; Stow; Monfaucon; Barante; Rapin; Andrew's Great Britain; Henry; Phillips's Shrewsbury; John Rous; Pennant; Monstrelet.

† Baker; Sandford; Stow; Hume; Lingard; Hallam; W. of Worcester.

been most painful. The Duke of York was enjoying the supreme authority. The people were still discontented at the ineffectual attempts to recover their foreign possessions, and they blamed their Queen and her ministers, as if it were in their power to effect impossibilities.

The grievances of the nation were much augmented by the Duke of York, who, taking advantage of the King's incapacity and of the people's dissatisfaction, hastened to assert his title, which he was still more than ever resolved to maintain, since the oath which he had so lately taken was regarded by him only as a political expedient, by which he had succeeded to extricate himself from imminent peril.*

During the late war in Guienne, the Queen had lost another of her best and earliest friends in Lord Talbot, who had, with his lady, joined in the escort of his fair sovereign, when she came from her native land to espouse King Henry. This noble warrior, (who had terminated his career in France like a hero,) was no less the sincere friend of Margaret, the polite courtier, and the enlightened peer of England. Highly intellectual and of refined taste, he was able to appreciate the talents and acquirements of his royal mistress, and, gratified on beholding her fondness for the arts, he presented to her a magnificent volume of illuminated manuscript.†

In this gift to the Queen, his own taste, and acquaintance with literature and the arts are also admirably displayed; and his dedicatory lines to Queen Margaret bear satisfactory evidence of his admiration of her abilities and accomplishments. He asks of her "to explain to his lord, the King, anything that may appear difficult to understand in the book; for," he

* Hume; Henry; Rapin; Monfaucon.

† This MS. is still preserved in the British Museum.

adds, "though you speak English so well, you have not forgotten your French."

The illuminated title-page of this costly work exhibits a stately hall, in which the Queen, seated beside King Henry, and surrounded by their courtiers, is receiving from Lord Talbot his magnificent folio. In the hall is represented a rich oriel behind the royal seat, over which is a vaulted ceiling, groined, and painted blue, with golden stars; the long lancet-shaped windows are rounded at the top. From pillar to pillar is extended an arras of gold and colours, with the royal arms in checkers, forming the back-ground of the royal seat. The King and Queen are both arrayed in regal costume; the right hand of Margaret being locked in Henry's hand. The Queen wears a royal crown upon her head, from beneath which her pale golden-coloured hair flows in graceful profusion over her back and shoulders, and her pale purple mantle is fastened around the bust with bands of gold and gems. Her dress, beneath the mantle, is of furred *cote-hardi*. Margaret appears thus portrayed in the youth and beauty of her twentieth year, uniting the royal majesty to her own genuine loveliness. In this highly-finished picture Lord Talbot kneels before her with his offering; his faithful dog attending him. Queen Margaret's emblem, the daisy flower, is abundantly scattered over the title-page, also clustered round her armorial bearings, and appears in every corner of the pages of this valued manuscript. Another ornament is the Queen's initial, a crowned M., around which is the garter with its motto. A striking feature in the picture, and a novel one, is the appearance of the Queen's ladies in their newly adopted attire, viz., heart-shaped caps. They were made of a roll wreathed with gold and gems, and formed into a turban over a close caul of gold cloth, or net, brought to a point, low in front, and

rising behind the head. King Henry's nobles are crowded to the right of their sovereign, clothed in full surtouts of whole colours, and trimmed with fur. They have black caps, or their hair cut close to the head, the custom prevalent in time of war, when the growth of the hair was prevented by the pressure of the helmet.

The Earl of Shrewsbury has, in this unique work, paid another compliment to the Queen, by portraying Queen Olympias with *her* features, and arrayed in her royal robes. The kirtle of the Queen of Macedonia is also powdered with the daisy flower. At the close of this volume, an allegorical piece represents the Queen and the chief ladies of her court as the Virtues; Margaret, having on her crown and purple robe, is characterized as Faith, and King Henry as Honour.

The death of Lord Talbot was felt as a national misfortune, for the people had honoured him as the greatest general of his time. His noble character, and literary merits, had also gained him the high esteem of Queen Margaret and her court, who especially deplored his loss.

The ill success of the English army in France increased the distress and gloom of this period, and the clamorous Yorkists began to be regarded as enemies of the King. Still heavier trials than these awaited the Queen, who, in the spring of this year, had to mourn the loss of her beloved and devoted mother, with whom, in her early years, she had shared in difficulties and dangers, and learned the lessons of adversity.*

Isabella of Lorraine died on the 28th of February, 1453, after a lingering and painful illness, in which she received the soothing care and attentions of her eldest daughter Yolande, and her husband, Ferri de

* Queen Margaret's mourning weeds were blue, perhaps of that dark, deep shade called French black.

Vaudemont. Queen Margaret, although not able to share these duties, was deeply afflicted, and sympathized in the grief of René, who for a time appeared inconsolable.

If it be true that highly gifted intellects are apt to grasp at the probable future, and to guide their actions thereby, we may suppose that Queen Margaret, observing the passing clouds which oft overshadowed the reasoning faculties of her husband, formed some anticipation, that by a more heavy oppression he might be visited. She felt the urgent need of judging and acting for him when he was unable to decide on public affairs which perplexed and excited him. She therefore adopted the course of leading him to pass his time in peaceful occupations and amusements. Some have blamed this prudence, saying these pursuits were more suitable for a monk than for a king. Yet the Queen evinced in this her gentleness and affection for her consort no less than the correctness of her judgment.

It was during this unhappy position of affairs that Queen Margaret gave birth to her only child, Prince Edward. This summer the Queen had been residing at the Palace of Westminster, and here it was that her son, the heir of King Henry's now disputed throne, first saw the light, on the 13th of October, (St. Edward's day,) in 1453. The Queen was attended by the Duchess of Somerset, to whom she was much attached.

1453. Holinshed; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Hume; Lingard; Rapin.

The nation rejoiced greatly at the birth of their prince. The little infant was baptized in Westminster Abbey, the ceremony being performed, with great splendour, by the pious William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester,* who was King Henry's most beloved

* This prelate immediately afterwards confirmed the infant prince, according to the Roman Catholic rites.

friend and counsellor; and the Duke of Somerset, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duchess of Buckingham were the sponsors. The font was arrayed in russet cloth of gold, and surrounded by a blaze of tapers. The "Crysome" or king's mantle, in which the royal babe was received after his immersion, with other accessories, cost the sum of £554 16*s.* 8*d.* This mantle was very rich with embroidery of pearls and precious stones, and was lined with a fine white linen wrapper, to prevent the brocade and gems from coming in contact with the delicate skin of the newborn prince.*

On the 18th of November the ceremony of the churching of the Queen took place at the Palace of Westminster, a writ of summons under the privy seal having been issued to command the attendance of ladies of the highest rank in England. On this occasion were present ten duchesses, eight countesses, one viscountess, and sixteen baronesses.† 1453.

King Henry was still suffering under his severe mental malady, and in such a state of aberration of mind that he could not notice his little son. The condition of the King, at this time, is portrayed in an interesting passage in a letter addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, as follows:—"As touchyng tythynges, "please it you to wite, that at the Princes comyng to "Wyndesore, the Duke of Buk' toke hym in his armes, "and presented hym to the Kyng in godely wise, be-"sechyng the Kyng to blisse him; and the Kyng gave "no maner answere. Natheles the Duk abode stille "wit the Prince by the Kyng; and whan he coude "no maner answere have, the Queene come in, and "toke the Prince in hir armes, and presented hym in

* Issue Rolls; Fabian; Milles's Catalogue.

† Five hundred and forty "brown sable backs" adorned the Queen's churching-robe. See Appendix, p. 435.

"like fourme as the Duke had done, desiryng that he "shuld blisse it; but alle their labour was in veyne, "for they departed thens witout out any answere or "countenaunce, sauyng onely that ones he loked on "the Prince, and caste downe his eyene agen witout "any more."*

Previous to the birth of her son, the King had presented Queen Margaret with a token of regard, viz., a jewel, called a *demy ceynt*, bought by him of his jeweller, John Wynne of the city of London, and as he says, "delyverede by oure commandment unto oure "moost dere and moost entierly belovede wyf, the "quene."†

The royal infant had received from his mother the name of Edward, a name much dearer to the country than that of his father and grandfather. The choice of this name showed the wisdom and policy of Queen Margaret; still seeking, if it were possible, to ingratiate herself with the people. The little Prince was carried to Windsor, and there, on Pentecost Sunday, 1454, he was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, in the presence of the Queen, the Chancellor, the Duke of Buckingham, and many lords. To these titles were afterwards added the castle and lordship of Buelt and Montgomery; which, it would appear, belonged to this prince by right, but had been omitted in his former patent, through the interference of the Duke of York.‡

It may be presumed by the provision made at this period in favour of the young Prince that the recovery of the King was hopeless. What a season of anxiety

* Egerton MSS.

† As long after as the year 1456, the King writes from the castle of Eccleshall to command payment of 200*l.* for the above gift.

‡ These creations are placed by some of our historians in the year 1457, three years later; but a letter in the Paston Collection proves this to be erroneous.

for the unfortunate Queen! We are told, indeed, that her child awakened in his mother's breast the fondest affection, but it was united to the deepest anxiety; and truly, it was his destiny to cause her many griefs.* From his infancy, however, this prince gave presage of a most excellent disposition, which, in after years, was confirmed, and, as he arrived at years of discretion, he advanced in amiability and virtue.

The birth of Prince Edward gave rise immediately to some very unjust and unfavourable reports, in which the malice of the Queen's enemies was but too apparent. Some individuals boldly asserted that this child was not the King's son. Others, while they maintained this opinion, and called him supposititious, acknowledged that they had no other foundation for their opinion than the improbability of the Queen having a son, after having passed nine years of her wedded life without having any children.† – .

The legitimacy of the Prince was, however, soon established by the concurrent voice of the people; and while these remarks were circulated by the enemies of Queen Margaret, to the injury of her reputation, others, more liberally disposed, who questioned not the honour or virtue of their Queen, regarded the birth of her child as auspicious of better fortune; hoping, that having a son and heir, Queen Margaret would feel a more lively interest in the welfare of the nation. She had, in fact, become the object of popular dislike, if not of hatred, throughout the kingdom, and was universally considered as too well affected towards France.‡ Had this last imputation been true, it is most certain that Queen Margaret must have incurred the penalty of her

* Sandford; Toplis; Milles's Catalogue; Paston Letters; Nugæ Antiquæ; Stow; Fabian; Howel's Med. Hist. Ang.; Pol. Vergil; Hallam; Hume; Birch's Illust.; Ormerod's Chester.

† Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Rapin; Lingard; Henry.

‡ Rapin; Lingard.

deviation from rectitude; for the war with France was no sooner over than the active and discontented spirit of the English nobility broke out in a long and bloody civil contest, and all that courage and energy, (which had formerly gained them the brightest laurels in a foreign land,) were productive only of the most pernicious results, when employed in desolating their own country to gratify their personal resentments.* Had the birth of the Prince of Wales happened earlier, it might have contributed, perhaps, to calm the public mind; which by this time had been prepared, by the insinuations of the Yorkists, to receive the Duke of York, if not as their king at this period, at least to acknowledge him as Henry's successor. This hope was destroyed by the inopportune claimant, the infant Edward, and Queen Margaret's enemies industriously circulated doubts of the legitimacy of her child, assailing her with calumnies which could not fail to be impressed on the minds of the people, who were so ill-disposed towards her.†

During the late events Richard, Duke of York, was staying in the city of York. It was reported that Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, was also there covertly, and the writer (a Lancastrian) adds, "God send him good counsel hereafter."

The Duke of York remained in that city until after the feast of Corpus Christi. He paid great attention to the religious solemnities, which gratified the people, and gained him much popularity.

The characteristics of this Duke had been displayed both in Ireland and in France, viz., his valour and ability, his prudent conduct and mild disposition; and these had gained him many friends. He was, besides, extremely cautious, and even betrayed some fear in his

* Holinshed. † Fabian.

subsequent proceedings against the King.* Had not the death of Gloucester paved the way for the ambitious schemes of York, it seems probable that the latter would never have asserted his right to the crown; and, having now done so, he encountered so many obstacles, that he might have been diverted from his purpose, had not the general discontent of the people encouraged him to proceed.

The repeated indisposition of the King had caused great vacillation in the minds of the people, for although they respected their sovereign, and were attached to him for his meek and amiable disposition, they could not but acknowledge that he was only the shadow of a king; and that he lent his name to anything proposed to him by the Queen and her ministers. These ministers, by the bad use they made of their authority, had lost their influence and respect with the people, who loudly complained of Somerset's choice of men devoid of principle and talent, to fill the offices of state, and even the Council-chamber. They went so far as to suspect him of a design to suppress religion and morality altogether, and of not allowing the correction of the abuses and disorders of the country.† The loss of France had irritated the people, and while the King was thought to be incapable of retrieving the honour of the nation, the Queen was considered too zealous for the interests of the French, and ambitious of monopolizing all power; finally, that Somerset was a greedy minister, eager to enrich himself at the public expense. 1453. Rapin.

Such was the condition of the public mind at this period. No wonder that they should listen to the claims of York, and that the birth of the Prince, by depriving this Duke of his right as heir apparent,

* Paston Letters; Hume.

† Rapin.

should increase the irritation of all parties, and exclude every hope of his peaceable succession to the throne.*

The Duke of York perceived the advantage he derived from the disposition of the people, and resolved to insinuate himself into their affections, under the plea of redressing their grievances, by obliging the King to appoint more competent ministers. He was convinced that could he succeed in excluding his enemies from the Cabinet, he should be enabled to establish his own friends there, and eventually triumph.

Many of the nobility were predisposed to any new arrangement, through their dislike to the ministry. The Duke, therefore, to effect his purpose, engaged several lords in his interest, under pretence of driving the Duke of Somerset away from court; for he was envied and hated by all. He next stirred up the people against his rival, and tried to lessen the credit of his sovereign, by reminding the people of his incapacity to govern.†

The unfortunate Henry was indeed totally unfitted by his illness to assume even the semblance of regal power. He lay senseless, and was unable either to walk or to stand. Yet the hope of his recovery sustained the Queen in this trying hour whilst absorbed in maternal cares, and in watchful anxiety over the afflicting malady of her husband. Amidst the political changes of this period Margaret took no part. She would not risk the safety of her child by any attempt to seize the reins of government, but she acted with prudence and dignity. She maintained her state as Queen, held courts and audiences, but having no longer the King's authority to support her, she was

* Monfaucon; Hume; Rapin.

† Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

compelled to yield to the torrent, and to suffer her enemies to govern as they pleased.*

A graphic and interesting account has been afforded us in a letter from the pen of a Yorkist. He speaks of party gatherings about this time, and of individual movements; unconnectedly he speaks of both factions; it is, as it were, the history of *one* eventful year (1454) preceding the commencement of the civil wars. Anxiety for personal safety, or alarm for the public weal, seems to be, on every heart, portrayed. It would be difficult to fix the date to each of these particulars, but as a whole they exhibit a period symptomatic of the coming troubles, and show the misrule of the Yorkists and the confusion of the Lancastrians. 1454.

The purport of this letter is as follows:—

"At the beginning of the year 1454, we find the "Duke of Buckingham giving orders for 2,000 bands "or scarfs, distinguished by the Stafford knot; men "were at a loss to know for what purpose." †

"The Cardinal had commanded all his servants "to be prepared with all such habiliments of war as "they knew how to use, in the defence of his person." ‡

"The Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Bonvile have "made known, in Taunton, in Somersetshire, that "every man who will join them, and serve them, "shall have provision daily so long as they abide with "them. The Duke of Exeter hath been to Tuxforth, "near Doncaster, in the north country, and there Lord "Egremond met him, and those two were sworn to-"gether; and the Duke is come home again."

"The Earl of Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont,

* Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Hume; Henry.

† Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was a firm Lancastrian, and in attendance on both King and Queen.

‡ Cardinal Kemp was of great age, and the burden of his charge of affairs in Church and State too heavy. His active measures in favour of the Queen might have caused him to fear an attack on his life.

"Panynges, Clyfford, Egremond, and Bonvile, are get-
"ting all the forces they can to come hither with them."

"Tresham, Joseph, Daniel, and Trevilian, have
"made a bill to the Lords, desiring to have a garrison
"kept at Windsor for the safeguard of the King and
"Prince, and that they may have money for wages of
"them, and other, that shall keep the garrison. Thorp
"of the Exchequer, articulethe fast against the Duke
"of York, but what his articles were is unknown. The
"Duke of Somerset's herbergeour hath taken up all
"the lodgings that might be had near the Tower, in
"Thames Street, Mark Lane, St. Katherine's, Tower
"Hill, and thereabout."

"The Queen has made a bill of five articles, which
"she desires to be granted her. First, that she desires
"to have the whole rule of this land; the second, that
"she may appoint the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy
"Seal, and all other officers of this land, with sheriffs,
"and all other officers that the King should make;
"the third is, that she may give all the bishoprics of
"this land, and all other benefices belonging to the
"King's gift; the fourth is, that she may have suffi-
"cient livelihood assigned her for the King, the Prince,
"and herself; the fifth article was omitted."

In continuance, the writer describes the coming, on the 25th January, of the Duke of York to London, with his friends, Salisbury, Warwick, the Earls of March, Richmond, and Pembroke, each one of them with a formidable array of armed retainers. Next, he adds;—"Every one who is of the opinion of the Duke
"of Somerset makes himself ready to be as strong as
"he can make him."

Then follows a caution to York to watch and beware of the snares of his enemies; for, he adds, "the
"Duke of Somerset has spies going in every lord's
"house of this land; some go as brothers, some as

"shipmen and otherwise, which make known to him "all that they see or hear relating to the Duke; "therefore," he repeats, "beware and watch." *

According to the information conveyed in this letter,† the Duke of York made his appearance in the metropolis, accompanied by his most powerful adherents and friends, each of them bringing a numerous retinue. The Court took alarm; and to prevent dissensions and warfare, which they apprehended, the Queen reluctantly consented to admit the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, to the Council.

The Parliament which had been summoned to meet at Reading on the 12th of November, 1453, was, in consequence of the King's illness, adjourned until the 11th of the February following, and again until the 14th of the same month in 1454, when the meeting was appointed to be held at Westminster.

Previous to the events of this year, 1454, York had taken the resolution to remove the unfavourable impressions inspired by his former conduct, by adopting a mild and submissive course, at the same time seeking to win the public favour. His willingness to disband his troops, and his oath of fidelity to the King, were, he well knew, likely to remove any suspicions of his evil intentions.‡

The King's malady was at its height in the year 1453, and the government was then chiefly administered by the aged Chancellor Kemp. It is true Queen Margaret herself exercised the regal authority in the

* Egerton MSS.

† The object of the writer appears to have been to convey information privately, which had been collected by several persons belonging to the household of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, one of the lords of the Yorkists' party, that their master might be acquainted with the events passing in London, and other places, before his arrival in the capital.

‡ Rapin.

name of her husband, but the counsels to which she deferred were those of the Chancellor Kemp, and of the Duke of Somerset.

The former had, as the Queen knew, formed one of the Cabinet before her marriage to King Henry, whose unlimited confidence he had enjoyed.

Queen Margaret, however, lost this acute and faithful counsellor just when the political horizon of this country began to be obscured, and the threatening storm rendered his services more than ever necessary to his royal mistress.

1454. In February, 1454, the Duke of York opened the session in the name of the King, with the title of Lieutenant.

The death of the Chancellor Kemp, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, occurred on the 24th of March, at his palace, Lambeth. A deputation forthwith waited on the King at Windsor, to convey the intelligence, and to consult his royal pleasure in appointing persons to fill these high offices; but, upon their return, they reported that although they had three times earnestly solicited an interview, they could not obtain it; nor did they receive any other reply than that "the King was sick."

This evidence of King Henry's inability to govern was sufficient. The Duke of York was created "Protector" of the kingdom during the pleasure of the King, or until the young Prince should arrive at years of discretion. This Act also granted to the Duke, as "Protector," a salary of 2,000 marks annually.*

The Duke and his two friends, Salisbury and Warwick, had no sooner taken their seats in Parliament than they carried all before them. The first act of Richard of York was to proceed boldly

* Milles's Catalogue; Lond. Chron.; Hume; Hallam's Middle Ages Henry; Lingard.

against the Duke of Somerset, and to have him arrested. This took place even in the Queen's chamber, from whence he was hurried to the Tower, where he was confined during the Christmas season. An accusation was also laid against him in the House of Peers, charging him with the loss of Caen. This impeachment, however, was not prosecuted, no sufficient evidence against him being adduced.

At this time the Duke of Norfolk distinguished himself as one of the enemies of Somerset; he rose in the house and made an artful and eloquent harangue against him. Somerset was deprived of his government of Calais; of which place, (always very important in times of trouble as a refuge,) the Duke of York took possession himself, for the period of seven years.*

After these abrupt and decided measures of her enemies, and the disrespect shown to Queen Margaret, in the seizure of Somerset in her chamber, it is highly improbable that the articles, (alluded to in the preceding letter,) which she had drawn up, if presented at all, would be listened to by the Lords. In like manner, the petitions of her party must also have fallen to the ground.

The proceedings of this session, so much under the influence of the Protector, are difficult to trace. Many lords absented themselves, and were compelled by heavy fines to attend.

It was decided in the Parliament, held by the Duke of York, on the 15th of March, 1454, that a medical Commission should be appointed, of three physicians and two surgeons, to watch the health of the King, and to attend on him. Those who were chosen for this office were John Arundell, John Faceby, and William 1454.

* Sandford; Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Paston Letters; Lond. Chron.; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Hume.

Hatclyff,* physicians, with Robert Wareyn and John Marchall, surgeons, who were empowered to act according to their own discretion and the exigency of the case.†

1454. At the meeting of Parliament on the 2nd of April, the King's three Great Seals, one of gold and the other two of silver, were brought in a wooden chest, and delivered by the Duke of York to the newly appointed Chancellor, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, who from this time became, (the first so styled) *Lord* Chancellor of England.

After conferring this distinction on his brother-in-law, the Protector next favoured the succession of Thomas Bouchier to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, at the same time nominating William Gray, Bishop of Ely in the room of Bouchier, the new Primate. Five noblemen were also selected from the two contending parties, to be intrusted with the custody of the seals for seven years; these were the Earls of Shrewsbury, Worcester, Wiltshire, and Salisbury, and the Lord Stourton.

During this period of the rule of the Yorkists, the Commons, steadfast in the cause of the King, vainly petitioned for the restoration of their Speaker, Thomas Thorp, who had been thrown into prison by the Duke of York.‡ The latter had, while in chief authority, prepared in the palace of the Bishop of Durham, habiliments of war; and these arms had been seized by Thorp at the command of the King, upon which the Duke brought his action against Thorp, and upon trial recovered 1,000*l.* damages; and the unfortunate Speaker was committed to the Fleet prison in execution.

* One of the Foundation Fellows of Cambridge University, and chief physician to the King.

† Nicholas's Acts of the Privy Council.

‡ Stow; W. of Worcester; Rot. Parl.; Rapin; Lingard; Henry.

The whole House pleaded for him, urging his privilege by common custom, time out of memory of man, and "ever afore these times used in every of the Parliaments of the King's noble progenitors."

The Duke of York, however, declared in the House of Lords that Thorp, having been cast in an action of trespass for carrying away his goods, lay now in prison in execution, where he, (the Duke,) prayed that he might remain. This had the force of a command, for the Duke had great power; and, therefore, while the Commons, overlooking their grievances, appointed a new Speaker, Thorp was detained in prison notwithstanding his privilege, and was compelled to pay the exorbitant damages required of him. He contrived to escape to the King, but, being retaken, was sent to Newgate, and afterwards to the Marshalsea. This Baron Thorp was a faithful adherent of Henry VI., and was especially employed by him, both in peace and war, against the headstrong lords. He became thus the inveterate enemy of the Duke of York, who was much swayed from his usual disposition in procuring from the Commons so unwarrantable a determination against him; but at this time the country was fast verging on civil war.*

The Lancastrians had contrived to maintain the rights of their King. They declared that the title of "Protector" carried with it no authority, merely giving to the Duke precedence in the Council, and the command of the army in time of war; that it might be revoked at the King's pleasure, and should not affect the rights of the young Prince of Wales, who had been created Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, and, when of age, the Protectorate would devolve upon him, should the illness of the King continue.†

* Baker; Stow; Hallam; Townsend's House of Commons.
† Rymer; Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

During the imprisonment of the Duke of Somerset, and the King's indisposition, Queen Margaret had been compelled to yield to the rival power; but Henry's malady was not permanent. He recovered his health, and the use of his reason, about Christmas, and was conveyed to London.

The interview between the Queen and this monarch, upon his recovery, has been thus described in one of the Paston Letters :—

"On the Monday afternoon the Queen came to him, "and brought my Lord Prince with her; and then he "asked what the Prince's name was, and the Queen "told him, Edward; and then he held up his hand, and "thanked God thereof. And he said, 'he never knew him "till that time, nor wist not what was said to him, nor "wist not where he had been, whilst he had been sick, "till now;' and he asked, who were godfathers? and "the Queen told him, and he was well apaid (*content*).

"And she told him that the Cardinal was dead; and "he said, he never knew thereof till that time; and "he said, one of the wisest lords in this land was dead.* "And my Lord of Winchester,† and my Lord of Saint "John's‡ were with him on the morrow after Twelfth "Day, and he spake to them as well as ever he did; "and when they came out, they wept for joy.

"And he saith, he is in charity with all the world; "and so he would all the lords were. And now he "saith matins of Our Lady, and Evensong, and heareth "his mass devoutly."

"Written at Greenwich, on Thursday after Twelfth-Day,

"By your Cousin,

"EDMUND CLERC."

"10th January, 1455.

"33 Henry VI."

* This was John Kemp, whom the King commended. † William Waynfleet.
‡ Robert Botill, lord prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Middlesex.

This brief and curious account of King Henry's illness is interesting as coming from himself. His total loss of memory, to which he alludes, commenced about October 11th, in 1453, and continued until Christmas, 1454. This letter also exhibits the King's true character for charity, meekness, and discretion. The writer of this epistle, who had some appointment at court, was then staying at Greenwich, and had therefore good opportunity for observation.

No sooner was the King's health restored, than Queen Margaret instigated him to revoke the Duke of York's commission, and to resume his own proper authority; with which the King complied, at the same time treating the Duke with his accustomed kindness. Thus ended the "Protectorate."* The late inactivity of the Queen had lulled the Duke of York into an imaginary security. He did not expect to be thus suddenly deprived of his newly-acquired power: his affairs were not, however, sufficiently advanced to give him authority to dispute this point, although it was evident that the King's resumption of power was only to intrust the government into the hands of the Queen.

Margaret, on recovering her former influence, immediately released the Duke of Somerset from the Tower, the Duke of Buckingham offering bail for him, together with the Earl of Wiltshire, and two other knights; but these were, a month after, freed from their engagement. Somerset had been accused and apprehended by orders of the Council, and it was therefore considered that the King had no power to release him without consulting that body; but no regard was paid to this opinion; and, without having been submitted to any trial, the Duke took his seat in

* Sandford; Baker; Paston Letters; Carte; Lingard; Rapin; Henry; Milles's Catalogue.

the Cabinet, where the Queen, supported by this favourite minister, regained her former importance, and York and his party were no longer able to preserve any authority.*

The enmity between the Dukes of York and Somerset, upon this, rose to a great pitch, and some of the more prudent of the members exerted their interest to reconcile them; nor did this appear impracticable, the object of both parties being to preserve the good opinion of the people, which they could not hope for should they suffer their ambitious motives to become apparent. These noblemen consented to submit to arbitration; and agreed that whichever refused to yield to this decision should forfeit to his rival the sum of 20,000 marks, and that the award should be given before the 20th of June. Eight persons were chosen as arbitrators, viz., the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Wiltshire and Worcester, Viscount Beaumont, and the Lords Cromwell and Stourton. These all met at Coventry, and held their controversy in the presence of the King. It was represented, meanwhile, to this monarch by the Duke of Somerset, that he had been deprived of his government of Calais upon an accusation against him, which had not been proved; and that it was still detained from him unjustly by the Duke of York.

With much earnestness did King Henry labour to reconcile his two irascible subjects. He now took from the Duke of York the government of Calais, and, under pretence of maintaining a neutrality between the parties, he declared that he would himself assume that government; but this arrangement proved highly displeasing to the Duke of York, who immediately, with feelings of deep resentment, retired from court.

* Stow; Baker; Carte; Lingard; Henry.

For his personal safety he went into Wales, but his chief object was to prepare an army to enforce his claims to a throne, which he found he could not obtain by policy and address.* The Duke had become convinced that nothing but force could displace his enemies; the Queen and Somerset having, through their influence over the King, so much the advantage. The friends of the Duke—Salisbury, Warwick, Lord Cobham, and others,—soon joined him. They had also arrived at the same conclusions, viz., that remonstrances and public accusations were ineffectual.

It was resolved, finally, that their disputes should be settled by force of arms. An army was speedily levied, and their pretext for this hostile movement was, the release of the Duke of Somerset without legal authority; a plea, they well knew, which would draw many to their standard. From his castle of Ludlow, the Duke of York addressed a letter, in February, 1455, to the bailiffs, burgesses, and commons of Shrewsbury, complaining of the misconduct of the Duke of Somerset; and setting forth his intention, viz., to remove this minister by force from the King's Council and person; and he further exhorted them to aid him in this enterprise. 1455. Stow.

In the march of the Duke of York towards London he was supported by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Cobham, with all their followers, amounting to 3,000 men.

On the side of the royalists were the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorset, Pembroke, and others, with an army of 8,000 men,† with the King at their head.

* Sandford; W. of Worcester; Carte; Paston Letters; Lingard; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

† Stow says more than 2,000.

These all encamped the night before their encounter at Watford, and the following morning entered St. Albans.*

* Baker; Holinshed; Stow; Sandford; Carte; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Howel; Hume; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Lingard; Henry.

APPENDIX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

(Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi.) A.D. 1444. 22 Henry VI.

For the Earl of Suffolk upon his scruples in the execution of the Embassy entrusted to him.

The King to all, &c. :—

Know that, as we have commissioned our dearly beloved cousin, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Great Seneschall of our Household, our Ambassador, and others in his suite in our kingdom of France, to our Uncle and Adversary of France, upon certain matters touching Us, our Kingdom, our dominions and the quiet of our subjects.

And as our cousin fears to exceed the bounds of his commission as granted by Act of our Council under our own hand and Seal.

We, wishing to remove all occasion of fear and scruple from our aforesaid cousin, and all doubt in the execution of our laws and commands, and every like feeling in the hearts of our subjects.

To all and every we wish to be known, in our great desire for peace, the matrimony of our person, and the quiet and tranquillity of our faithful English subjects, &c., &c.

Here follows a declaration exonerating the Ambassador and his heirs for ever and ever from any consequences resulting from the discharge of his embassy, and freeing him and his heirs from all molestation, or demands on the part of the King, his heirs or successors.

Witness the King at Westminster,
Feb. 25.

Mandate for the Payment of Moneys for the expenses of the Queen's journey into England.

Henri, by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, and lord of Irlande, to the tresorere and chamberlains of oure Eschequier, greting,

We, by the advice of oure counsail, have maade certain advisamentz of

dispenses and coustages that by estinacione wolde suffise for the bringing oute of our reaume of Fraunce unto oure presence of oure mooste beste beloved wyf the quene, as by ij copies of the said advises, the whiche we sende unto you closed withinne thees, it may appere unto you more at plain. We wol therefore, by thadvis of oure saide counsail, and charge you that yedeliver, by way of apprest, unto oure welbeloved servantz Johne Breknoke and to Johne Everdone, clercs in oure householde, or to the oon of theim, whom we have assigned to entende for and aboute the said expenses, the sommes conteigned in the said cedules after the tenour of theim, to paie the same sommes after the teneure of the said advises.

Yevene undre oure Prive Seal, at Westminster, the xix day of Augst, the yere of oure regne xxij.

BENET.

(The Second Schedule.)

Five barons and baronesses, each four shillings and sixpence the day, and three esquires, each at twenty-three pence the day, two valets, each at sixpence the day for ninety-one days.

The controuller at two shillings and sixpence the day, and one esquire at eighteen pence the day, two valets each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Thirteen knights, each at two shillings and sixpence the day, and six valets, each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Forty-seven esquires, each at eighteen pence the day, and one valet, each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Eighty-two valets, each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Twenty sumptermen and others, each at four pence the day, for ninety-one days.

BENET.

On Safe Conduct to see the Coronation of the Queen.

The King, by his letters patent to remain in force the next half year, doth take under his especial protection, safe keeping, and defence, for safe and sure conduct, William Monypeny, Esqr., and Master Donald Motmulon, Clerk, Scotsmen, and their sixteen servants, in their journey in the Kingdom of the King of England, by land or by sea, by water, on foot or on horseback, with their gold and silver in bars and wallets, and all other goods whatever, on their coming to see the solemnity of the Coronation of the Queen.

Here follows permission to come to any place within his Majesty's dominions, Territories, and Jurisdiction, to abide and to go backwards and forwards as often, and in what way they please, during the term of the

Safe Conduct, without let, hindrance, or obstruction from the servants and officers of the King.

Provided always, that they conduct themselves well and honestly towards the King and his people, and that neither by word or deed they say, or attempt anything that may tend to the prejudice of the King or people—provided always, that they do not enter into any Castle, Fortress, or fortified Town of the King, without shewing to the proper Authorities the letters of Safe Conduct.

Witness the King at Westminster,
Dec. 5.

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

Concerning the ring with which the King was sacred on the day of his Coronation at Paris, to be remade for the marriage of the Queen, and of various presents.

Right trusty and well-beloved,

For, as moch as oure Trusty and well beloved Squire John Merston, Tresorier of oure Chamber and Keeper of our Jewels, hath by oure special commandement delivered these jewelles under written; that is to say:—

A Ryng of Gold garnished with a fayr rubie, somtyme yeven unto us by our Bel oncle the Cardinal of Englande, with the which we were sacred in the day of our Coronation at Parys, delivered unto Matthew Philip to Breke and thereof to make another ryng for thē Queen's wedding ring.

Here follows an enumeration of various articles of gold and jewellery with their prices, presents from the King to various persons, on the New Year's day previous.

A Tabulet of Gold with an Ymage of the Pite of Our Lord, Garnished with Stones and Perle, bought of Matthew Philip, and yeven unto oure bel oncle, the Duc of Gloucester, by us on Neweyere's Day last passed, price xc *lib.*

A Cuppe of Golde covered and chased, bought of John Pattesley, goldsmith of London, and yeven by us to oure bel oncle the Cardinale of England, on the said Neweyere's Day, price xc *lib.* vij *s.*

An Ouche of Gold Garnished with a Balys, a Saphyr, and a great Perle, bought of the said Mathew, and yeven by us unto the Duc of Exeter on the said Neweyere's Day, price lx *l.*

A Tabulet of Gold garnished with stones and perle, Bought of the said John Pattesley, and Yeven by Us unto the Archebishop of Canterbury on the said Neweyere's Day, price l *lib.*

A Tabulet of Gold with an Ymage of Our Lady, garnished with stonys and perle, Bought of the said John, and Yeven by Us unto the Duchesse of Buckingham on the said Neweyere's Day, price xxxiii *l.* vi *s.* viij *d.*

An Ouche of Gold made in manner of a Gentil-woman, garnished with stones and perle, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto the Earl of Warwick on the said Neweyere's Day, price xxx *l.*

A Tabulet of Gold with an Ymage of St. Katerine, garnished with stonys and perle. Bought of the same Mathew and Yeven unto the Bishop of Sarum on the said Neweyere's Day, price xxvi*l.* xiii*s.* and iiij *d.*

A Gipser of Gold, garnished with Rubies and perle, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto oure Cousin, the Viscount Beaumont, on the said Neweyere's Day, price xx*l.*

An Ouche of Gold made in manner of a parc, garnished with Stonys and Perle, and bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by us unto the Lord of Sydeley, on the sayd Neweyere's Day, price xx*l.*

An Ouche, garnished with a Balys, a Saphyr, and six Perles, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto Sir James Fenys, Knight, on the same Neweyere's Day.

An Ouche of Gold made in manner of a Peche, garnished, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto Sir John Beauchamp, Knight, Steward of our Howshold, on the same Neweyere's Day.

An Ouche of Gold and in the middes a Flour de Lyes, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven to Sir Roger Fenys, Knight, Tresorier of oure household on the same Neweyere's Day.

And an Ouche of Gold garnished with a greet Perle, a Rubie, and a Diamond playn, taken of the Stuff of our Jewelhows, and Yeven by Us unto Rose Merston on the sayd Neweyere's Day.

We wol and Charge you, that, under our Prive Seal, being in your Warde, ye do make oure Letters of Warrant sufficient and in due forme unto oure said Squire for his discharge for the deliverance of the Jewelles aforesaid, and theese our Letters shall be your Warrant.

Yeven under our Signet at our Castle of Wyndesore the xij day of January the yere of oure Regne xxiii.

Dors.

To our Right Trusty and Well beloved Clerc, Maister Adam Moleyns, Keper of oure Prive Sele.

Concerning the jewels prepared for the Coronation of the Queen, &c., &c.

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

R.

To the Tresorer and Chamberleins, &c., Greting.

We Wol and Charge you that ye Deliver sufficient assignement of the Half XVth Graunted unto Us by the Lay People of this oure Reaume in this oure present Parlement of Four Thousand Marc, as for Monnoye Lent unto Us in manere and fourme as foloweth; that is for to sey,

Of Two Thousand Marc to Us into oure Chambre by the Handes of John Merston, Keper of oure Jewells, for a Jewell of Saint George the whiche we have Bought of oure trusty and welbeloved Knight, William Estfeld.

And of the other Two Thousand Marc, for Two Thousand Marc the

whiche oure said Knight hath lent nowe unto Us in Prest Money at the Contemplacion of our moost best beloved Wief the Queene for hir commyng nowe unto oure Presence.

Yeven, &c., at Wyndesore the Sext Day of Aprill, the Yere, &c., xxiii.

R., &c.

To the Tresorer and Chamberleins of oure Eschequier Greting.

We Wol and Charge you that, for such things as oure right entierly Welbeloved Wyf the Queene most necessaryly have for the Solempnitee of hir Coronation, ye Deliver, of oure Tresour, unto oure trusty and welbeloved squier John Merston, Keper of oure Jewell, a Pusan of Golde, called Ilkyngton Coler, Garnished with iv Rubees, iv greet Sapphurs, xxxii greet Perles, and liii other Perles. And also a Pectoral of Golde Garnished with Rubees, Perles, and Diamonds, and also with a greet Owche Garnished with Diamondes, Rubees, and Perles, sometyme bought of a Marchant of Couleyn for the Price of Two Thousand Marc,

He as wel to Deliver the saide Pusan as the said Pectoral unto oure saide Wyf of oure Guft.

Yeven, &c., at Southwyk the xviii Day of Aprill, the Yere, &c., xxiii.

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

Concerning the attendance of the Queen to England.

The King to all greeting :—

Be it known that we, in consideration of the great care, trouble, and expense, which our trusty and faithful Secretary, Richard Andrew, in our business, as our Ambassador, and especially in his attendance on our well-beloved Consort, on her departure from our Kingdom of France, and on her coming to our presence, has had and sustained, and also of the valuable, acceptable, and praiseworthy services which he has rendered us, and will render to us in future, in our especial favor, we have granted him One hundred pounds, to be received every year from the last past Festival of St. Michael.

To wit—Sixty Pounds from our Customs on Wool, Tan, and Skins in the port of our Town of Southampton, to be paid by the Collectors of those duties for the time being, at the Easter and Michaelmas Quarters, in equal portions, of forty pounds from our Customs on Wool, Tan, and Skins, in our port of London, to be paid by the Collectors of those duties for the time being at the aforesaid periods in equal portions.

Confirming all other grants and gifts formerly made by us to the said Richard, all and every statute, act, ordonance, restriction, on any cause or matter whatever otherwise made or provided notwithstanding.

In virtue whereof, &c.,

Witness the King at Westminster,
15th day of May.

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

Concerning the customary gifts for the Master of the Ship who brought the Queen to England.

The King to all, &c., greeting:—

Know that, as we have been informed that it has always been a custom on those occasions, when Queens have arrived in this our kingdom, that certain gifts should be granted to the masters of those vessels in which they have crossed the seas.

We, therefore, in consideration of the good and faithful services which our trusty Thomas Adam, late master of the Ship called Cok John of Cherbourg, in which our well-beloved and chosen Queen voyaged to our said kingdom, rendered to our aforesaid Consort on her passage, in our especial favor do grant him 20 marks annually to the end of his life, on the death of John Williams, seaman, of our Customs, in port of our Town of Southampton, to be paid by the Collectors of Customs for the time being, at Michaelmas and Easter, in equal portions.

In virtue whereof, &c., &c.,

Witness the King at Westminster,
June 10.

Issue Roll, 23 Henry VI.

18*th June*.—To five minstrels of the King of Sicily, who lately came to England to witness the state and grand solemnity on the day of the Queen's coronation, and to make a report thereof abroad. In money paid to them in discharge of £50, viz.:—to each of them £10 which the Lord the King commanded to be paid, to be had of his gift by way of reward. By writ, &c. £50.

To two minstrels of the Duke of Milan, who came to England to witness the solemnization of the Queen's coronation, and report the same to the princes and people in their country. In money paid to them by the hands of Edward Grymeston, in discharge of 10 marks; viz.:—to each of them 5 marks, which the Lord the King, with the advice and assent of his Council, commanded to be paid to the said minstrels, to be had of his gift. By writ, &c. £6 13*s*. 4*d*.

To John de Surenceurt, an esquire of the King of Sicily, and steward of the Queen's household abroad, who came previously to the Queen's reception, to witness the solemnization of her coronation, and to report the same as above. In money paid to him by the hands of Edward Grymeston, in discharge of 50 marks, which the Lord the King, with the advice and assent of his Council, commanded to be paid to the said John, &c. By writ, &c. £33 6*s*. 8*d*.

To John d'Escoce, an esquire of the King of Sicily, who, as a true subject of the Queen's father, left his own occupations abroad and came in the Queen's retinue to witness the solemnity on the day of her coronation. In money paid to him, &c. By writ, &c. £66 13*s*. 4*d*.

19*th June.*—To Sir Almeric Chaperon, knight, and Charles de Castellion, clerk, Ambassadors from the King of Sicily, lately sent to the Lord the King, in the Queen's retinue, upon certain affairs on behalf of the said Lord, the King of Sicily. In money paid to them in discharge of 200 marks, which the said Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Almeric and Charles; viz.:—to each 100 marks, to have of his gift by way of reward. By writ, &c., £133 6*s.* 8*d.*

Issue Roll. 27 Henry VI.

14*th Nov.*—To William Flour, of London, goldsmith. In money paid to him by assignment made this day, in discharge of 20 marks, which the Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said William, to be had by way of reward, because the said Lord the King stayed in the house of the said William on the day that Queen Margaret, his consort, set out from the Tower of London for her coronation at Westminster. By writ of privy seal amongst the mandates of Michaelmas Term, in the 24th year of the said King. £13 6*s.* 8*d.*

PETITIONS IN PARLIAMENT IN THE TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF HENRY VI.

(*From original Documents in the Tower of London.*)

So it baille as Srs. A. D. 1444.

Grace be to the Lord.

The Queen's Dower

"Henry by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all the present members of his Parliament Saluting.

Ye know how, when the honour of high rank of King took its first origin, and to which we have attained, it was disposed of by God to be administered by his rule, that the subordinate powers might be bestowed on all those needing and deserving the Royal munificence. In like manner it is fitting that the King's Majesty should be the more studious to provide for the Queen, as relating to her dowry; and since the ineffable providence of the Eternal King, ever bestowing his favours upon us, decided wisely on both sides; he has taken in marriage the most illustrious daughter of the King of Naples and Jerusalem, and Grand Duke of Lorraine, the Queen Margaret, born of Isabella, according to the agreement of our nuptials.

We do therefore tenderly solicit your wills and custom in the dowry of the Consort herself of Henry; following nobly the recorded works of our ancestors, the titles of her right, declaring that it should be given her at this demand in the following form; by the advisement and assent of the Lords present and temporal, and of the authority of King Henry of England in the present Parliament at Westminster; begun and held

on the twenty-fifth day of February, in the twenty-third year of King Henry's reign, and until the twenty-ninth day of April then next following, adjourned and prorogued; and afterwards until the twentieth day of October then next following, adjourned; and from the said twentieth day of October, until the twenty-fourth day of January then next following, adjourned and prorogued; by authority of those belonging to the said Parliament: "We do give and concede to the said consort of Henry, the castle, town, possessions and honours of Leicester, with its members and dependencies in the county of Leicester, namely the Manor of Desseford, the Bale of Desseford, the Manor of Shulton, the Bale of Shulton, the Manor of Hinkeley, the Borough of Hinkeley from without the Bale of Hynkeley; the Bale of Glenfeld, the Bale of Belgrave, and Syleby, with 40 marks per annum from the fruitful farm of the town of Gunthorp in the county of Nottingham, the Bale of Curleton, the Manor of Stapulford, the Bale of Stapulford, Hethelye, with the deed of the thrifty Frith, the Bale of the Honor of Leicester in the Counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester, the Manor of Swannington, the farm and Mills of the town of Leicester, the Manor of Fouston, the Manor of Sweton, and the Manor of Langton in the County of Leicester, fixed at the value of 250*l.* 8*s.* 0¾*d.* per annum. The Castle, the Manor, and Honor of Tudbury, with their members and appurtenances, viz., the Manor of Rolleston, the Manor of Barton, the Manor of Marchington, Manor of Uttoxhatter, Manor of Adgarseley, the Bale of one part, called Anard, of the other part, called Rodman, the Bale lately freed in the County of Stafford, the Ward of Tudbury, Ward of Barton, Ward of Yoxhale, the Ward of Marchington, and the Ward of Uttoxhatter, in the County of Stafford; and in the County of Derby, the Manor of Duffeld, the Manor of Beaurepaire, Manor of Holbrok, Manor of Allerwassle, Manor of Southwode, Manor of Heighege, the Hundreds of Gresley, the Manor of Edrichay, Manor of Holand, Manor of Byggyng, Manor of Irtonwode, Manor of Bonteshale, Manor of Brassington, Manor of Matloke, Manor of Hertington, Manor of Spondon, Manor of Scropton, the Hundreds of Appaltre, the Bale for filling up lately freed in the County of Derby; the Ward of Duffeld, the Ward of Holand, the Ward of Colbrok, Ward of Beaurepare, the Castle and Manor of Melbourne, the farm Querrere of Rouclif, the Castle and estate of Alti Pecci, the Landsend called Wynnclondes, the new freedom in Pecco in the County of Derby, fixed at the value of 927*l.* 17*s.* 7½*d.* per annum. The Manor of Yerkhull in the county of Hereford, at the value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The Manor of Croudon in the County of Bucks, at the value of 20*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The Manor of Haseley, Manor of Kirtelington, Manor of Dadington, Manor of Firyton, and the Manor of Ascot in the County of Oxfordshire, to the value of 155*l.* 7*s.* 10¼*d.* per annum. The Castle and Estate of Plecy, the Manor of Heighestre, Manor of Waltham, Manor of Masshebury, Manor of Badewe, Manor of Dunmowe; Manor of Lighes, Manor of Wykes, Manor of Walden, Manor of Dependen, Manor of Quenden, Manor of Northampstede, Manor of Farnham, Manor of Shenfeld, the Bale of the Honor of Tudbury, Lancaster and Leicester, in the Counties of Essex,

Hertford, Middlesex, London and Surrey, the Manor of Enfeld, and a building called Hackeys, in the Connty of Middlesex, an Hotel in the city of London, called Blanch Appleton, with a house, called Steward's Inn, in the parish of St. Olive's in that city; the Castle and town of Hertford, the Manor of Hertfordingbury, Manor of Esgudeu, and the Manor of Bayford in the County of Hertfordshire; and the Manor of Walton in the county of Surrey, to the value of 555*l.* 16*s.* 0½*d.* per annum. The Estate in the County of Essex, to the value of 40*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* per annum. The Manor of Wathersfield, in the County of Essex, to the value of 27*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* per annum; and the Castle and possessions of Kenelworth, with dependencies in the County of Warwick, to the value of 15*l.* 4*s.* 6½*d.* per year. And certain Castles, Towns and honours, domaines, manors, lands and houses, and other things pertaining to Duke Henry of Lancaster, are promised and are held per annum at the value of 2,000*l.* To be had, held and kept of the said Consort of Henry, all the appointed Castles, Honours, Towns, Domains, Manors, Wapentaches, Bales, county estates, sites of France, carriages, landed farms, renewed yearly, the lands, houses, possessions and other things promised, with all their members and dependencies, together with the lands of the Military, Ecclesiastic advocacies, Abbotcies, Priories, Deaneries, Colleges, Capellaries, singing academies, Hospitals, and of other religious houses, by wards, marriages, reliefs, food, iron, merchandize, liberties, free customs, franchise, royalties, fees of honour, returned in a short time, and other our commands, given in our presence, and by executions on the same things by outlets, boundaries, and amercements, forests, chaises, parks, woods, meadows, fields, pastures, warrens, vivaries, ponds, fish waters, mills, mulberry trees, fig trees, and all other things pertaining to the same Castles, Honours, Towns, Estates, Manors, Possessions, lands, houses, and other things promised; however they may tend, or pertain to them; together with such returns of lands and tenements in the dowry, to the end of her life, or years; and by all other returns made to the appointed Castles, Towns, Honours, Possessions, Manors, Wapentaches, Bales, Lands, Houses, and other things promised however, tending, or pertaining thereto; to be given at the feast of the sacred Michael the Archangel, in the 24th year of King Henry, to the end of her life, in respect of her dowry, and so freely and honestly, until some restoring or making over to Us, or the heirs of Henry, so that we may inherit them, or be indebted to his heir if we hold them at the hands of Henry. And if it should happen that some of the appointed Castles, Honours, Towns, Dominions, Manors, Wappentaches, Bales, County Estates, Annuities, sites of France, carriages, landed Farmes, Restoration Lands, Tenements, possessions, or other things promised, should so be assigned through us to the said Consort of Henry in respect to her dowry, or some parcel of the same, that they shall be shown and recovered out of the hands of the said Consort of Henry, or that she herself shall be lawfully expelled from thence, or from some parcel of thence; then We will and concede, that the said Consort of Henry do receive the necessary satisfaction, and recompence of us, the heirs and successors of Henry,

having so shown or recovered them by this means. And that the same Consort of Henry, when her authority is allowed, shall have and coerce for her whole life, through herself and her ministers, all things and all such like privileges, franchises, liberties, state affairs, with executions, for grant and proclamation of the same, concerning the Castles, Honoures, Towns, Dominions, Manors, Bales, and other things promised, assigned, and conceded, to the same Consort of Henry in the form appointed, such as we have appointed to Duke Henry in the said ways. And since diverse annuities to the amount of 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* annually accruing, conceded to different persons before these times, to the end of the life of the same separately, of Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and other things promised, pertaining to the Duke Henry of Lancaster, are ended; that it is appointed that such should be assigned to the Consort of Henry in respect to her dowry. We have conceded, and we do concede, when her authority is allowed, to the said Consort of Henry, 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* to be had and held of the said Consort of Henry annually, from the said feast of the Sacred Michael to the end of her life; on account of the issues, profits and returns of Henry, Duke of Cornwall, and on account of the issues, profits and returns of the Tin Coinages in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon, through the hands of the General Receiver, the said Duke Henry, our heirs and successors, and of whatever other Receivers, Occupiers, or Holders of the said profits, issues, and returns, for the time being, in recompense for the appointed 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* of the appointed Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and other Possessions appointed, in the annuities being ended, which were given to the end of the lives of the divers persons separately. Provided always, that after that, it should happen, that any person inheriting any annuity by concession or confirmation of Henry, whether of any one of our progenitors, or ancestors, in the said Castles, Dominions, Lands, Tenements, and other possessions of the said Consort of Henry in respect to her dowry, above assigned, shall retire, whilst the appointed Consort of Henry is living; that then such a sum as the same person may thus receive per annum from thence, or from some parcel thence, shall be annually deduced and cut off, during the life of the said Consort of Henry, for the use of Henry and our heirs, from the appointed 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* conceded by the same Consort of Henry, as is appointed in recompense, and so singly during the life of the said Consort of Henry, after the decease of whose person some annuity in the appointed Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements and possessions appointed, shall be assigned to the said Consort of Henry, in the appointed form, as part of her dowry, by concession or confirmation of Henry, or of our fore fathers, or ancestors, as it is appointed, the heir dying, such a sum as the said person in his life may receive of the appointed 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* annually, above repeated, during the life of the said Consort of Henry, shall be deduced and cut off, for the use of Henry and our heirs. We will also, and by granted authority ordain that the Chancellor, Duke Henry of Lancaster, for the time being, in writing under the seals of the same acknowledged Duke, shall certify before the Saint Henry to the Trea-

surers and Barons of the same Saint for the time being, other men, and single persons, for the said annuities of the said Castles, Dominions, Manors, and other things promised, pertaining to the same Duke, as part of the dowry that is promised to be assigned, or of some parcel of the same, inherited in whatever manner, besides the sums and quantity of this annuity of the same persons, that the same Treasurer and Barons may be able particularly to receive nothing in deducing and cutting off the said 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* in recompense of the things conceded. And that all those who inherit, or are now about to inherit any farms belonging to the specified Castles, Manors, Honours, Lands, Tenements, Possessions, Profits, Emoluments, or commodities of whatever kind belonging to the Duke Henry of Cornwall through the said Royal patents of the great seal of Henry, or otherwise are held, or shall be held, to return, or pay whatever gains they themselves make through us for those farms, that they pay, and are compelled and held to pay, such gains to the Receiver-General, Henry, Duke of Cornwall, and not to the Reception of St. Henry, nor any others by any means. And that the same Dwellers on the soils of this said Receiver Henry, called Duke Henry for the time being, his farms made and appointed through the acquaintance or acquaintances of the Receiver himself, with St. Henry, and of our heirs, do testify the sum, or sums of monies received and paid of this same, to us, Henry's heirs and successors, that they may inherit the allowed allocation, and live quiet and free, and without pretext of any other payment, or by other means done. We concede also, and by granted authority of the said Consort of Henry we concede, a thousand pounds to be had and received of the same Consort of Henry, to the end of her life, annually, from the said feast of St. Michael, to the end of the Passover and St. Michael, in respect of her dowry, or marriage portion, from the issues, profits and returns of other remains of Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Honours, Services, Possessions and Heritages, and other emoluments of whatever kind belonging to Duke Henry of Lancaster, as in England, so in Wales existing and remaining in the hands of Henry, beyond the said Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and other things promised, pertaining to the Duke aforesaid, in respect of the dowry assigned, by the hands of the General Receiver, Henry, our heirs and successors, of the same Duke Henry of Lancaster for the time being. And if the said annual return of a thousand pounds or any part pertaining thereto, on the contrary should not be paid to the same Consort of Henry to any end aforesaid, then we will and concede, by authority and assent of the aforesaid, that it shall be held well lawful for the same Consort of Henry, through her officials and ministers in all the Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, and Tenements of Henry remaining appointed to the said Duke Henry of Lancaster, existing and remaining in the hands of Henry, to bind fast, and to carry off, the bond thus taken, to escape and hold back themselves from punishment until it is satisfied and paid to the same Consort of Henry by the same return and arrangements of the same party. And moreover lest perhaps the said possessions,

and other things promised belonging to the Duke Henry of Lancaster remaining in the hands of Henry, should be diminished or accumulated by imposition, through which it might be likely that the said Consort of Henry should be retarded by any one from receiving payment of her said annual return of £1,000, by the said assent and authority we ordain and establish, that if any person of whatever rank or station he may be, shall adopt and receive any of the said patent royalties, under Seal of Duke Henry of Lancaster, or any other seal of Henry or of our heirs, or successors, in diminution, accumulation, or lessening of the same possessions and other things promised, after the Feast of Pentecost which will be in the year of our Lord 1446, that these said patents shall be deprived of vigour and authority in his cause. And moreover by the said authority We will, concede, and ordain, that all donations and concessions given after the said Feast of Pentecost henceforward through us to any person, or persons, by the said Henry, under the Seal of the Duke Henry of Lancaster, or any other seal of Henry, of any Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Restorations, and Services, of the said Duke Henry of Lancaster, or of any annuity proceeding from the same, made in any manner, shall be void in law, and that all that so given or conceded and contained in the said Henry's patents then finished, made known or specified, forthwith and immediately after the donation or concession of the same as is appointed to be done, shall remain to the said Consort of Henry, to be held to the end of her life, as part of the deduction of the said £1,000 assigned and conceded to the same Consort of Henry as is appointed in respect to her dowry or marriage portion. Provided always, that the true annual value of this thing so given or conceded, be annually deducted and pruned out of the said £1,000 for the use of Henry and our heirs: and in order that for better security it be paid annually to the same Consort of Henry out of her said annuity of £1,000 through us, as it is appointed to be conceded to her, by the hands of the General Receiver Henry for the time being, we will and ordain, by the aforesaid authority, that no particular Receiver for any one of the Castles, Dominions, Manors, Honors, Grounds, and other things promised of the Duke Henry of Lancaster remaining in the hands of Henry, shall have any demand in his computations henceforth returned through the Auditors of the same Duke Henry, of any sums of money whatever out of the issues of his office through any other person except that to be paid by Henry the Receiver-General, the said Duke Henry, during the life of the said Consort of Henry; always excepted whatever sums of money are inherited by any persons as any annuities, by the concession, or confirmation of Henry before these times, received by any person of the said Duke Henry, through such his annuities, and through the grounds and walks of the Officials and Ministers of Henry, by and under the said Duke Henry paid annually, besides by the necessary Keepers and repairers of the Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, and Tenements of the said Duke Henry, existing in the hands of Henry, and by other repairers and rebuilders of the same. And if any such particular Receiver should make any payment out of the issues of his office otherwise than as it is ap-

pointed by the Receiver-General Henry, the said Duke Henry, he shall be burdened still in his computation by sums so paid through him to us. We concede also, and by the said authority moreover we assign to the same Consort of Henry, £3,666 13*s.* 4*d.* to be had and received of the same Consort of Henry, annually, to the end of her life, from the said Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, to the end of the Passover and St. Michael, by equal portions, as a part of her dowry, in the subsequent form, viz., £1,000 thence annually to the end of the aforesaid time, both from the small and great Customs of Henry, our heirs and successors in the Port of the Town of Southampton belonging to Henry, through the hands of the Collector of the same Customs for the time being. And £1,008 15*s.* 5*d.* thence per annum, to the end of the said time, from the issues, returns, and profits of the said Duke Henry of Cornwall, and from the issues, profits, and returns of the Pewter and Tin Coinage in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon, through the hands of the Receiver-General Henry, heirs and successors of the same Duke, and of whatever other Receivers, occupiers, or Dwellers of the same Profits, issues, and returns for the time being. And £1,657 17*s.* 11*d.* thence per annum, to the same end, to the Saint Henry, our heirs and successors through the hands of the Treasurers and Chamberlains of the same Saint for the time being, as well from the first monies proceeding from the advances of our Vice-Counsellor and Commissary, our heirs and successors, as from whatever other issues, profits, farms, debts, and returns are paid to the said Saint, until We, the heirs and successors of Henry, shall have made provision and recompense to the same Consort of Henry, from the Lands, Tenements, Returns, and other possessions to the value of the said £3,666 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, within Henry's kingdom of England, as part of her dowry, or other things to be held to the end of her life. And moreover by the said authority, We will and concede, that the aforesaid Consort of Henry shall be provided and recompensed out of the lands, tenements, returns, and possessions, which first come or fall into the hands of Henry, or of our heirs through us, and the said heirs of Henry, according to the deduction and satisfaction of the said £3,666 13*s.* 4*d.* to be held as part of her said dowry. And by the aforesaid assent and authority, We will and concede that the said Consort of Henry shall have so many and such Baronial fees as may be allowed by Law, and unemployed, by demand, and other Baronial fees and other Warrants so many and such as may be necessary and opportune to be conceded and assigned to her in this part, for the payment of sums and annuities to her, as it is promised, and for the execution of the promised things. And that the Chancellor, Henry of England, and the Keeper of the private Seal of Henry, besides the Chancellor, Duke Henry of Lancaster, We, being heirs and successors for the time being, do make, without delation from the tenor of those presents, such Baronial fees and Warrants, from time to time whensoever and wheresoever on the part of the Consort of Henry *ronabiliter*, they may be requisite. Save whatever things are bound to the state of Henry, or his possession, right, title and

interest, in the customs, issues, profits, and returns of the said Duke of Cornwall, the Pewter and Tin Coinages, and in the said Castles, Towns, Dominions, Manors, Honors, Bales, Grounds, Lands, Tenements, Wapentaches, sleek cattle, Hundreds, Franchises, Liberties, Farms, Returns, profits, Commodities, Possessions, and other things promised to the same Consort of Henry in the said form conceded and assigned both in the said Dukedom of Henry of Lancaster, and in Grounds, Roads, Annuities, Custodies, Offices, and Farms whatever in or about the Dukedom of Henry of Lancaster, or other parcels of the things promised, if such are contained in the same.

We concede moreover to the said most beloved Consort of Henry, that she shall by no means whatever be burdened or compelled to return to Us or the heirs of Henry, any computation of any issues, profits, or returns of the said Castles, Dominions, Lands, Tenements, and other things promised, or of any one of the same: so that she may be quiet and unannoyed in any manner by any computation and other burdens whatever thence, regarding Us and the heirs of Henry. But all these things are through Us, by the said authority, confided, given, conceded, and assigned, on the 19th day of March, in the Twenty Fourth year of Henry's reign, by the said Parliament of Henry then sitting."

" In whose reign," &c., &c.

Issue Roll. 24 Henry VI.

30*th May.*—To Margaret, Queen of England. In money paid to her by assignment made this day by the hands of John Norrys, in discharge of £1,000 which the lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Queen, as well for the daily expenses of her chamber as in relief of the great charges which the said Queen incurred on the day of the Circumcision of our Lord last past. By writ, &c., £1,000.

Amidst the agitation caused by the disastrous public events, and whilst the spirit of resistance to the government was beginning to manifest itself, songs and poetry, as a means of promoting the general discontent, were much used, and even assumed a bold character. Some of these, which have happily been preserved, are most valuable. There are many allusions in one of them to persons of rank and influence, each of whom is described by his badge. It appears that this poem was written after 1447, as Cardinal Beaufort, who died in that year, is spoken of as having " his velvet hat closed."

The deaths of the Dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, Exeter, and Somerset, and of Cardinal Beaufort, are first enumerated, and the commencement of the troubles in England is dated from the capture of Rouen in 1417. The Duke of Norfolk " laid to sleep," meaning bribed by Suffolk, who

envied him. The gallant Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in reference to his name and badge, "our good dog," was perhaps "bounden" by the grant of the Earldom of Waterford, &c., in 1446. By Lord Fauconberg having "lost his angle-hook," his capture by the French is implied. Lord Willoughby de Eresby seems accused of indolence, and by the bear being "bound that was so wild, for he had lost his ragged staff," allusion was intended to Richard Neville having been created Earl of Warwick, which distinction may have satisfied his wishes, and thus, to use the metaphor, the bear was deprived of his staff. The Duke of Buckingham's "wheel" became spokeless from his having taken offence at the dismissal of his brothers, (the Chancellor and Treasurer,) by Suffolk; and also from having induced the King to receive with kindness, the Duke of York. Thomas Daniel, John Norreys, and John Trevilian are particularly mentioned, since the last-named is said "often to have blinded the King," and their names appear among those indicted by the Commons, in 1451, "for mysbehaving about the King's roiall persone." The Earl of Arundel having refused to support Suffolk's power, became popular in Sussex and Kent. Bourchier, and some other noble, who is described as the wine bottle, (possibly the Earl of Oxford, since a long-necked silver bottle was one of his badges,) and the Prior of St. John's, are mentioned as having united with the Bishop of Exeter. The Earl of Devonshire is related to have retired into his own country, instead of helping "with shield and spear" the attempt then contemplated to overthrow the obnoxious minister; while the Duke of York's anxiety and irresolution are admirably described under his cognizance, a falcon, flying hither and thither, uncertain where to build her nest.

ON THE POPULAR DISCONTENT AT THE DISASTERS IN FRANCE.[1]

Bedforde[2] Gloucetter[3]
"The Rote is ded, the Swanne is goone
Excetter[4]
"The firy Cressott hath lost his lyght;
"Therfore Inglond may make gret mone,
"Were not the helpe of Godde almyght.
Roone[5]
"The castelle is wonne where care begowne
Somerset[6]
"The Portecolys is loyde adowne
Cardinalle[7]
"Iclosid we have oure welevette hatte
"That keveryed us from mony stormys browne,

[1] Verses in the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 23.

[2] John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, third son of Henry IV. Badge,—the Root of a tree.

[3] Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of Henry IV. Badge,—the Swan.

[4] John Holland, Duke of Exeter. "A Cressett with burning fire," i.e., a fire beacon, said to have been the badge of the Admiralty.

[5] Rouen, surrendered to the French in 1447.

[6] John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Badge,—a Portcullis.

[7] Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, "Cardinal of England."

Northfolke[1]
" The White Lioun is leyde to slepe
Southfolk[2]
" Thorouz the envy of the Ape clogge,
" And he is bownden that oure dore shuld kepe,
" That is Talbott oure goode dogge[3]
Fawkenberge[4]
" The Fisshere hathe lost his hangulhooke ;[5]
" Gete theym agayne when it wolle be,
Wylloby[6]
" Oure Mylle-saylle wille not abowte,
" Hit hath so longe goone emptye.
Warwick[7]
" The Bere is bound that was so wild,
" Ffor he hath lost his ragged staffe,
Bokynghame[8]
" The Carte nathe[9] is spokeless,
" For the counseille that he gaffe,
Danyelle[10]
" The Lily is both faire and grene ;
Norreys[11]
" The Coundite rennyth not, as I wene,
Trevilian[12]
" The Cornysshe Chowgh[13] offt with his trayne
Rex
" Hath made oure Egulle blynde.
Arundelle[14]
" The White Harde is put out of mynde,
" Because he wolle not to hem consent ;
" Therfore the commyns saith is both trew and kynde,
" Bothe in Southesex and in Kent.
Bowser[15]
" The Water-Bowge and the Wyne-Botelle,
Prior of Saint Johanis
" With the Vetturlockes cheyne bene fast.
Excettur
" The Whete-yere wolle theym susteyne
" As longe as he may endure and last.

[1] John de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Badge,—a White Lion.
[2] William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. Badge,—the Clog argent and Chain or.
[3] John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who had been recalled from active service in France.
[4] William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, one of the heroes of the French wars. Badge,—the "fysshe hoke."
[5] A hook for angling, or a fish-hook.
[6] Robert, Lord Willoughby, another hero of the French wars. Badge,—the Mill-sail.
[7] Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Badge,—the Bear and ragged staff.
[8] Humphrey de Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. Badge,—a Cart-wheel.
[9] The nave of a cart.
[10] Thomas Daniel, "armiger," or esquier, one of the unpopular courtiers.
[11] John Norris, one of the officers of the household to Henry VI.
[12] Daniel Trevilian. Badge,—a Cornish Chough.
[13] The bird.
[14] William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. Badge,—the White Horse, here signified by the "White Harde."
[15] Henry, Lord Bourchier, whose arms were argent a cross, ingrailed gules, between four water bougets.

Devynshire[1]
" The Boore is farre into the west,
" That shold us helpe with shilde and spere,'
Yorke[2]
" The Fawkoun fleyth, and hath no rest,
" Till he witte where to bigge[3] his nest."

Another of these compositions is addressed to the lords of the court, and contains a warning for the King himself. The courtiers, who ruled the King, are called upon to restore the grants they had obtained from him, for they had reduced him to such poverty that he was obliged "to beg from door to door" through his tax gatherers. Untruth, oppression, and evil-doing prevailed throughout the land much more than the King knew; but vengeance was at hand. So poor a King and such rich nobles were never seen before; while the Commons could support their burdens no longer, in spite of the resolution of the Lord Say to tread them under foot. The Earl of Suffolk had sold Normandy, and now sought to make the King take the blame of his treason.

A WARNING TO KING HENRY.[4]

" Ye that have the kyng to demene[5]
" And ffrauncheses gif theyme ageyne,
" Or els I rede[6] ye fle;
" Ffor ye have made the kyng so pore,
" That now he beggeth fro dore to dore;
" Alas, hit shuld so be.

" Tome of Saye[7] and Danielle bothe,
" To begyn be not to lothe;
" Then shalle ye have no shame.
" Who wille not, he shalle not chese,[8]
" And his life he shalle lese,[9]
" No resoun wille us blame.

" Trowthe and pore men ben appressede
" And myscheff is nothyng redressede;
" The kyng knowith not alle.
" Thorowout alle Englande,
" On tho that holdene the fals bonde
" Vengeaunce will cry and calle.

" The traytours wene[10] they ben so sly,
" That no mane can hem aspy;
" We cane do theme no griffe.

[1] Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.
[2] Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. Badge,—a Falcon.
[3] To build. [4] Cotton. Charters. [5] To direct or lead.
[6] To counsel or advise.
[7] James Fienes, Lord Saye and Sele, lord treasurer, one of the unpopular statesmen of the day. This song was written before this nobleman was thrown into the Tower. [8] To choose.
[9] To lose. [10] To think.

" We swere by hym that hairwede[1] helle
" They shalle no lenger in eresy dwelle
" Ne in ther fals beleve.

" So pore a kyng was never seene,
" Nor richere lordes alle bydene ;[2]
" The communes may no more.
" The lorde Saye biddeth holde hem downe,
" That worthy dastarde of renowne,
" He techithe a fals loore.

" Suffolk Normandy hath swolde,[3]
" To gete heyt agayne he is bolde,
" How acordeth these to in one ;
" And he wynethe,[4] withouten drede,
" To make the kyng to avowe his dede,
" And calle hit no tresoun.

" We trow the kyng be to leere,[5]
" To selle bothe menne and lond in feere ;
" Hit is agayne resoun.
" But yef the commyns of Englonde
" Helpe the kyng in his fonde,[6]
" Suffolk wolle bere the crowne.

" Be ware, kynge Henré, how thou doos ;
" Let no lenger thy traitours go loos ;
" They wille never be trewe.
" The traytours are sworne alle togedere
" To holde fast as they were brether ;[7]
" Let them drynk as they hanne[8] brewe."

O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex;
" *Nomen habes sine re, nisi te recte regas.*"

The following extract is from a spirited ballad on the death of the Duke of Suffolk. It commemorates how, in the month of May, Jack Napes, as the favourite is here termed, had gone to sea as a mariner, but was arrested on the way by death; and that Nicholas (possibly the name of the ship's commander) offered to be his confessor.

" In the monthe of Maij, when gresse groweth grene,
" Flagrant[9] in her floures, w[t] swet savour,
" Jack Napes[10] wolde ouer the see, a maryner to ben,
" With his cloge,[11] and his cheyn, to seke more tresour,
" Syche a payn prikkede hym, he asked a confessour.
" Nicholas said, 'I am redi, this confessour to be.'
" He was holden so, that he ne passede that hour,
" For Jack Napes soul, *Placebo* and *Dirige*".[12]

[1] Harrowed. [2] At once, or at the same time. [3] Sold.
[4] Thinketh. [5] Empty or weak. [6] Dilemma.
[7] Brethren. [8] Have. [9] Fragrant.
[10] A nickname for William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.
[11] A Clog argent with a Chain or, the badge of Suffolk. [12] Cottonian MS.

A poem more general in satire was written, just before the civil wars commenced, on the troubles arising in the land.

"HOW MYSCHAUNCE REGNETH IN INGLONDE.

"Now God, that syttyst an hyghe in trone,
"Help thy peple in here greet nede,
"That trowthe and resoun regne may sone
"For thanne schal they leve owt of drede.
"In that wyse conscience schal hem lede,
"Hem to brynge onto good governaunce;
"That yt may sone be doon in dede;
"Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Meed[1] and falscheed assocyed are;
"Trowthe bannyd ys, the blynde may not se;
"Manye a man they make fulle bare,
"A strange compleynt ther ys of every degré,
"The way is now past of tranquyllyté,
"The wyche causyth a full greet varyaunce;
"Amange the comunys ther ys no game nor gle;
"Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Murder medelythe ful ofte, as men say;
"Usure and rapyne stefly dothe stande,
"Here abydyne ys wythe her that goon ful gay;
"For whanne they wele they have hem in hande,
"Ful manye they brynge to myschaunce.
"Wyse men, beholden, be wayr al afore hande;
"Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Wyght ys blak, as many men seye,
"And blak ys wyght, but summe men sey nay;
"Auctoryteys for hem they toleye;[2]
"Large conscience causyth they croked way,
"In thys reame they make a foul aray,
"Whanne the dyse renne, ther lakkythe a chaunce
"Clene conscience bakward goth alway;
"Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Myscheef mengid[3] ys, and that in every syde;
"Dyscord medelythe ful fast amonge;
"The gate's of glaterye[4] standen up wyde,
"Hem semythe that al ys ryghte and no wronge,
"Thus endurid they have al to longe;
"Crosse and pyle standen in balaunce;
"Trowthe and resoun be no thynge stronge;
"Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

[1] Mede,—reward or bribe.
[2] Toleye,—to put forward.
[3] Mengid,—reminded.
[4] Glaterye,—flattery.

" Rychesse renewyd causith the perdicioun
" Of trowthe, that scholde stande in prosperyté
" Between here and hope ys mayd a divisioun,
" And that ys al for lak of charyté;
" Wherefore ther regnethe no tranquillyté:
" Thys mateer causith the fool ignoraunce,
" That the peple may not in eese be;
" Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

" Now, God, that art ful of al pletevousnesse;[1]
" Of al vertuys grace and charyté,
" Putte from us al thys unsekyrnesse,[2]
" That we stande in grete necessyté,
" That agayn trowthe no varyeng be.
" Al tymes that art founteyne of al felycité,
" Of al oure synnys, thou make a delyveraunce." [3]

In a curious metrical prophecy, still more obscure, we are told that disastrous occurrences are to take place, and among them a battle on the banks of the Humber, " when Rome shall be removed into England, and every priest shall have the Pope's power in hand." Another poem describes England as in a state of universal contention; that there were much people of light consciences; many knights possessing little power; many laws with little justice; little charity but much flattery; great show of living on small wages, and many gentlemen but few servants; &c.

ON THE TIMES.

" Now ys Yngland alle in fyght;
" Moche peple of consyens lyght;
" Many knyghtes, and lytyll myght;
" Many lawys, and lytylle ryght;
" Many actes of parlament,
" And few kept wyth tru entent;
" Lytylle charyté, and fayne to plese;
" Many a galant penyles;
" And many a wonderfulle dysgyzyng[4]
" By unprudent and myssavyzyng;[5]
" Grete countenanse and smalle wages;
" Many gentyllemen, and few pages;
" Wyde gownys, and large slevys;
" Wele besene, and strong thevys;
" Moch bost of thero clothys,
" But wele I wot[6] they lake[7] none othys. [8]

[1] Plentevousness,—abundance. [2] Unsekyrnesse,—insecurity.
[3] MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, in a handwriting of the reign of Henry VI.
[4] Disguising. [5] Bad counsel. [6] Know. [7] Lack.
[8] MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Issue Roll. 32 Henry VI.

To Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, who, by the King's command, n the month of September, in the 29th year of his reign, went to the said Lord the King at his castle of Kyllyngworth, and to his city of Coventry, with a strong guard; also attended at great costs and expenses about the King's person. In money paid to him by assignment made this day by the hands of John Andrew, £400, which the Lord the King commanded to be paid him, &c. By writ, &c., £400.

Issue Roll, Easter. 32 Henry VI.

17*th July.*—To Margaret Queen of England. In money paid to her by assignment made this day, by the hands of Robert Tunfield, for divers sums of money paid by the said Queen for an embroidered cloth, called "*Crisome*," for the baptism of the Prince, the King's son, and for 20 yards of russet cloth of gold, called "tisshu," and "540 brown sable bakkes," worth altogether £554 16*s.* 8*d.* The said Queen to have the same by the King's command of his gift. By writ, &c., £554 16*s.* 8*d.*

Issue Roll, Michaelmas. 33 Henry VI.

19*th February.*—To the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Peter, Westminster. In money paid to them by the hands of John Wode in discharge of £10, which the Lord the King, with the advice of his Council, commanded to be paid to the said Prior and Convent, for the wax lights burnt at the baptism of Edward, the son of our Lord the King. By writ of privy seal amongst the mandates of this term. £10.

21*st February.*—To Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, who, by the King's command, resided and remained in attendance in the city of London and suburbs thereof from the feast of Lent, in the 31st year, to the 11th of August then next following, at her great cost and charge. In money paid to her, &c., in discharge of £100, which the said Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Duchess, of his gift, &c.

By writ of privy seal, £100.

END OF VOLUME I.

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